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THE
N A M E S
OF THE
Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes,
RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE
PRESENT PARLIAMENT,
WITH THE
PLACES THEY REPRESENT.

ANTRIM COUNTY. (10)

HON. Hercules Rowley.
Right Hon. John O'Neill.

Borough of Antrim.

Hon. William John Skeffington.
Hon. Chicheſter Skeffington.

Borough of Belſaſt.

Hon. Henry Skeffington.
Hon. Joſeph Hewit.

Borough of Liſburne.

William Sharman, Eſq;
William Todd Jones, Eſq;

Borough of Randalstown.

Michael Smith, Eſq;
John Dunn, Eſq;

ARMAGH COUNTY. (6)

Right Hon. William Brownlow.

William Richardſon, of Richhill, Eſq;

Borough of Armagh.

Henry Meredyth, Eſq;
George Rawſon, Eſq;

Borough of Charlemont.

Sir Anneſley Stewart, Bart.
Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

CARRICKFERGUS COUNTY
and TOWN. (2.)

Conway Richard Dobbs, Eſq;
Ezekiel Davys Wilſon, Eſq;

CATHERLOUGH COUNTY, (6)

William Burton, Esq;
Sir Richard Butler, Bart.

Borough of Catherlogh.

Sir John Browne, Bart.
Charles Desvoeux, Esq;

Borough of Old Leighlin.

Hon. Henry-Lawes Luttrell,
commonly called Lord Luttrell.

Hon. Arthur Acheson.

CAVAN COUNTY. (6)

George Montgomery, Esq;
Charles Stewart, Esq;

Borough of Belturbet.

Sir Skeffington Smyth, Bart.
Right Hon. David Latouche.

Borough of Cavan.

Thomas Nesbitt, Esq;
Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements.

CLARE COUNTY (4)

Sir Hugh Dillon Massey, Bart.
Edward Fitzgerald, Esq;

Borough of Ennis.

Steuart Weldon, Esq;
John Thomas Foster, Esq;

CORK COUNTY. (26)

James Bernard, Esq;
Hon. Robert King, commonly
called Lord Kingsborough.

Borough of Baltimore.

Hon. Arthur Gore, commonly
called Lord Sudley.
Richard Longfield, Esq;

Borough of Bandon-bridge.

Francis Bernard, Esq;
Lodge Morres, Esq;

Borough of Cosslemartyr.

John Bennett, Esq;
Broderick Chinnery, Esq;

Borough of Charleville.

Rogerson Cotter, Esq;
Richard St. George, Esq;

Borough of Cloghnikilty.

Thomas Adderly, Esq;
Charles O'Neil, Esq;

City of Cork.

Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson.

Augustus Warren, Esq;

Borough of Doneraile.

Hon. Hayes Sentleger.
James Chatterton, Esq;

Town of Kinsale.

James Kearney, Esq;
Cromwell Price, Esq;

Town of Mallow.

Denham Jephson, Esq;
Sir James Laurence Cotter,
Bart.

Borough of Middleton.

Thomas Pigott, Esq;
Arthur Dawson, Esq;

Borough of Rathcormuck.

Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq;
Right Hon. Thomas Orde.

Town of Youghal.

Robert Uniacke, Esq;
James Uniacke, Esq;

DONEGAL COUNTY. (12)

Alexander Montgomery, Esq;
Henry Vaughan Brooke, Esq;

Borough of Ballyshannon.

William Ogilvie, Esq;
Sir Michael Cromie, Bart.

Borough of Donegal.

Henry Hatton, Esq;
Sir John Freke, Bart.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Borough of Killybeggs.

Rt. Hon. William Conyngham.
William Colville, Esq;

Borough of Lifford.

Hon. Abraham Creighton.
Sir Nicholas Lawless, Bart.

Borough of St. Johnston.

Hon. Robert Howard.
Hon. William Forward.

DOWN COUNTY. (14)

Hon. Arthur Hill, commonly
called Lord Viscount Kil-
warlin.

Hon. Edward Ward.

Borough of Bangor.

Edward Hunt, Esq;
Richard Magenis, Esq;

Borough of Downpatrick.

Clotworthy Rowley, Esq;
Andrew Caldwell, Esq;

Borough of Hillsborough.

William Montgomery, Esq;
James Bailie, Esq;

Borough of Killyleagh.

Sir John Blackwood, Bart.
Robert Blackwood, Esq;

Borough of Newry.

Robert Rofs, Esq;
Isaac Corry, Esq;

Borough of Newtown.

Right Hon. John Ponsonby.
Sir William Evans Ryves Mor-
res, Bart.

DROGHEDA COUNTY and TOWN. (2)

Henry Meade Ogle, Esq;
John Forbes, Esq;

DUBLIN COUNTY. (10)

Right Hon. Luke Gardiner.
Sir Edward Newenham, Knt.

City of Dublin.

Travers Hartley, Esq;
Nathaniel Warren, Esq;

University of Dublin.

Laurence Parsons, Esq;
Arthur Browne, Esq;

Borough of Newcastle.

John Latouche, Esq;
Thomas Whaley, Esq;

Borough of Swords.

Charles Cobbe, Esq;
John Hatch, Esq;

FERMANAGH COUNTY. (4)

Mervyn Archdall, Esq;
Hon. Arthur Cole Hamilton.

Borough of Enniskillen.

John Mc. Clintock, Esq;
James Stewart, of Fort-Stewart,
Esq;

GALWAY COUNTY. (8)

Right Hon. Dennis Daly.
William Power Keating Trench,
Esq;

Town of Athenry.

John Blakeney, Esq;
Theophilus Blakeney, Esq;

Town of Galway.

Dennis Bowes Daly, Esq;
Anthony Daly, Esq;

Borough of Tuam.

Robert Day, Esq;
Right Hon. Sir Lucius O'Brien,
Bart.

KERRY COUNTY. (8)

Sir Barry Denny, Bart.
Richard Townsend Herbert, Esq;

Borough of Ardsfert.

Sir Frederick Flood, Bart.
John Tydd, Esq;

Borough of Dingle-Iscach.

Richard Boyle Townsend, Esq;
John Townsend, Esq;

Borough of Tralee.

William Godfrey, Esq;
James Carrique Ponsonby, Esq;

KILDARE COUNTY. (10)

Right Hon. Lord Charles Fitz-
gerald,
John Wolfe, Esq;

Borough of Athy.

Right Hon. Lord Edward Fitz-
gerald,
Thomas Burgh, Esq; Account-
tant-General.

Borough of Harristown.

Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer, Bart.
Thomas Burgh, of Oldtown,
Esq;

Borough of Kildare.

Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitz-
gerald,
Simon Digby, Esq;

Borough of Naas.

Hon. John Bourke, commonly
called Lord Naas,
Hugh Carleton, Esq;

KILKENNY COUNTY. (16)

Right Hon. William Brabazon
Ponsonby,
Hon. Henry Welbore Agar, Esq;

Borough of Callan.

George Agar, Esq;
John Bourke O'Flaherty, Esq;

*Borough of St. Canice, alias
Irishtown.*

Hon. Richard Annesley,
Right Hon. John Monck Mason.

Borough of Innisfree.

George Ponsonby, Esq;
John Usher, Esq;

Borough of Gowran.

George Dunbar, Esq;
George Burdett, Esq;

City of Kilkenny.

Hon. William Cusse,
John Butler, Esq;

Borough of Knocktopher.

Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart.
Robert Langrishe, Esq;

Borough of Thomastown.

George Roth, Esq;
Patrick Welch, Esq;
George Bunbury, Esq; in the
Room of the said George
Roth, deceased. Sworn 2d
March, 1786.

KING'S COUNTY. (6)

Sir William Parsons, Bart.
John Lloyd, Esq;

Borough of Banagher.

Peter Holmes, Esq;
Edward Bellingham Swan, Esq;

Borough of Philipstown.

John Toler, Esq;
Henry Cope, Esq;

LEITRIM COUNTY. (6)

Peter Latouche, Esq;
John Gore, Esq;

Borough of Carrick.

Right Hon. Thomas Pelham,
Edward King, Esq;

Borough of Jamestown.

Sir Francis Hutchinson, Bart.
Henry Bruen, Esq;

LIMERICK COUNTY. (8)

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Sir Henry Hartstonge, Bart.

Borough of Askeaton.

Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.
Richard Griffith, Esq;

Borough of Kilmallock.

Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon,
John Armstrong, Esq;

City of Limerick.

Right Hon. Edmund Sexten
Pery,

John Prendergast Smyth, Esq;
Edmund Henry Pery, Esq; in
the Room of the Right Hon.
Edmund Sexten Pery, now
Lord Viscount Pery. Sworn
6th February, 1786.

LONDONDERRY CO. (8)

Right Hon. Thomas Conolly,
Right Hon. Edward Cary.

Borough of Coleraine.

Right Hon. Richard Jackson,
Arthur Wolfe, Esq;

City of Londonderry.

Sir Hugh Hill, Bart.
James Alexander, Esq;

Borough of Newtown Limavady.

John Staples, Esq;
John Richardson, Esq;

LONGFORD COUNTY. (10)

Laurence Harman Harman, Esq;
Henry Gore, Esq;

Borough of Granard.

Robert Jephson, Esq;
George William Molyneux,
Esq;

Borough of Laneshorough.

Robert Dillon, Esq;
Cornelius Bolton, Esq;

Borough of Longford.

Hon. Thomas Pakenham,
Henry Stewart, Esq;

Borough of St. Johnstown.

Sir Thomas Fetherston, Bart.
Nicholas Colthurst, Esq;

LOUTH COUNTY. (10)

Right Hon. John Foster, Spea-
ker of the Hon. House of
Commons.

Thomas James Fortescue, Esq;

Borough of Ardee.

Charles Ruxton, Esq;
William Ruxton, Esq;

Borough of Carlingsford.

Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiére,
K. B.

Thomas Coghlan, Esq;

Borough of Dundalk.

Hon. Robert Jocelyn, common-
ly called Lord Jocelyn.
Hon. George Jocelyn.

Borough of Dunleer.

John William Foster, Esq;
Henry Coddington, Esq;

MAYO COUNTY. (4)

Right Hon. James Cuffe,
Hon. Dennis Browne.

Borough of Castlebar.

Hon. James Browne,
Thomas Warren, Esq;

MEATH COUNTY. (14)

Right Hon. Hercules Langford
Rowley,
George Lowther, Esq;

Borough of Athboy.

Hugh Howard, Esq;
Thomas Bligh, Esq;

Borough of Duleek.

Andrew Ram, Esq;
Abel Ram, Esq;

Borough of Kells.

Hon. Thoms Taylor, common-
ly called Lord Headfort,
Hon. Hercules Langford Tay-
lor.

Borough of Navan.

John Preston, Esq;
Joseph Preston, Esq;

Borough of Rathfriland.

Arthur Forbes, Esq;
John Metge, Esq;

Borough of Trim.

Right Hon. Lieutenant General
John Pomeroy,
Hon. William Wesley Pole.

MONAGHAN COUNTY. (4)

Charles Powell Leslie, Esq;
John Montgomery, Esq;

Borough of Monaghan.

Right Hon. Lieutenant General
Robert Cuninghame,
Right Hon. Theophilus Jones.

QUEEN'S COUNTY. (8)

Rt. Hon. Sir John Parnell, Bart.
John Warburton, Esq;

Borough of Ballynakill.

Sir William Montgomery, Bart.
John Moore, Esq;

Borough of Maryborough.

Charles Henry Coote, Esq;
Frederick Trench, Esq;

Borough of Portarlington.

Sir Boyle Roche, Bart.
Robert Hobart, Esq;

ROSCOMMON COUNTY. (8)

Arthur French, Esq;
Sir Edward Crofton, Bart.

Borough of Boyle.

Right Hon. Henry King,
Robert Boyd, Esq;

Borough of Roscommon.

George Sandford, Esq;
Maurice Copinger, Esq;

Borough of Tulsk.

William Caulfield, Esq;
James Fitzgerald, Esq;

Hugh Crofton, Esq; in the
Room of the said William
Caulfield, deceased. Sworn
6th March, 1786.

SLIGO COUNTY. (4)

Charles O'Hara, Esq;
Owen Wynne, Esq;

Borough of Sligo.

Right Hon. Owen Wynne,
Thomas Dawson, Esq;

TIPPERARY COUNTY. (8)

Henry Prittie, Esq;
Daniel Toler, Esq;

City of Cashell.

Richard Pennefather, Esq;
William Pennefather, Esq;

Borough of Clonmell.

Hon. William Moore,
Stephen Moore, Esq;

Borough of Feibard.

Thomas Barton, Esq;
Daniel Gahan, Esq;

TYRONE COUNTY. (10)

James Stewart, of Killmoon,
Esq;
Nathaniel Montgomery Moore,
Esq;

Borough of Augher.

William Richardson, Esq;
Samuel Hayes, of Drumboe
Castle, Esq;

City of Clogher.

Sackville Hamilton, Esq;
John Francis Cradock, Esq;

Borough of Dungannon.

Hon. Thomas Knox,
Lorenzo Moore, Esq;

Borough of Strabane.

Hon. Henry Pomeroy,
Sir John Stuart Hamilton, Bart.

WATERFORD COUNTY. (10)

Right Hon. John Beresford,
Sir James May, Bart.

Borough of Dungarvan.

Marcus Beresford, Esq;
Godfrey Green, Esq;

Borough of Lismore.

Right Hon. Sir Henry Caven-
dish, Bart.
Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.

Borough of Tallagh.

Hugh Cane, Esq;
John Hobson, Esq;

City of Waterford.

Henry Alcock, Esq;
Robert Shapland Carew, Esq;

WESTMEATH COUNTY. (10)

Hon. Robert Rochfort,
William Smyth, Esq;

Borough of Athlone.

Sir Richard St. George, Bart.
William Handcock, Esq;

Borough of Fore.

Hon. George Frederick Nugent,
commonly called Lord Del-
vin,
Gervais Parker Bushe, Esq;

Borough of Kilbeggan.

Henry Flood, Esq;
John Philpot Curran, Esq;

Manor of Mullingar.

Francis Hardy, Esq;
John Doyle, Esq;

WEXFORD COUNTY. (18)

Right Hon. George Ogle,
Vesey Colclough, Esq;

Borough of Bannow.

Henry Loftus, Esq;
Nicholas Loftus Tottenham,
Esq;

Borough of Clonines.

Charles Tottenham, of Ross,
Esq;
Thomas Loftus, Esq;

Borough of Enniscorthy.

Mountfort Longfield, Esq;
Conway Heatly, Esq;

Borough of Fethard.

Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq;
Ephraim Carrol, Esq;

*Borough of Newborough, alias
Gorey.*

Stephen Ram, Esq;
Richard Vowell, Esq;

Town of New-Ross.

Charles Tottenham, of Bally-
curry, Esq;
Robert Leigh, Esq;

Borough of Taghmon.

Hon. Richard Hely Hutchinson,
Robert Stubber, Esq;

Town of Wexford.

Richard Nevill, Esq;
Francis Leigh, Esq;

WICKLOW COUNTY. (10)

Nicholas Westby, Esq;
Hon. John Stratford.

Borough of Baltinglass.

Warden Flood, Esq;
Sir John Allen Johnston, Bart.

Borough of Blessington.

John Reilly, Esq;
Sir Richard Johnston, Bart.

Borough of Carysfort.

Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart.
John Proby Osborne, Esq;

Borough of Wicklow.

Edward Tighe, Esq;
Samuel Hayes, of Avondale,
Esq;

O F F I C E R S

ATTENDING THE HONORABLE

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Chief Clerk,

Edward Cooke, Esq;

Clerk Assistant,

Benjamin Higgins, Esq;

Clerk of the Journals and Papers,

James Corry, Esq;

Clerk of the Engrossments,

Dawson Ellis, Esq;

Committee Clerks,

{ Geo. Frederick Winstanley, Esq;
Jonathan Rogers, Esq;

Chief Serjeant at Arms,

Dixie Coddington, Esq;

Assistant Serjeant at Arms,

Thomas L'Estrange, Esq;

T H E
PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER:
O R,
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
O F T H E
HOUSE of COMMONS.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1786.

TH E House being met, according to the last prorogation, the following message was brought from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ It is his Grace the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure, that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”

The Speaker, with the House, went up to attend his Grace, and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Grace was pleased to make the following speech to both Houses of Parliament ; which the Speaker read to the House, and it was afterwards read by the Clerk at the table :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is with great satisfaction, that, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, I meet you again in Parliament. You will, I am persuaded, give your utmost attention to the various objects

of public concern which require your consideration. Your natural solicitude for the welfare of Ireland, and a just sense of her real interests, will direct all your deliberations, and point out to you the line of conduct which may be most conducive to the public advantage, and to that lasting connection between the sister kingdoms, so essential to the prosperity of both.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the public accounts and other necessary papers to be laid before you. The principle which you so wisely established, of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, will, I hope, appear already to have proved successful; and I entertain no doubt that your wisdom will persevere in measures which in their operation promise such beneficial effects. His Majesty relies with confidence upon your grant of such supplies as are necessary for the public service, and for the honourable support of his government.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ A systematic improvement of the police, and a vigorous execution of the laws, are essential not only to the due collection of the public revenue, but to the security of private property, and indeed to the protection of society. The frequent outrages which have been committed in some parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object.

“ It is unnecessary for me to recommend the Protestant Charter-Schools to your protection, or to enumerate the happy effects which may be derived from your continued attention to the Linen and other Manufactures, to the Agriculture, and to the Fisheries of the kingdom, and to such measures as may animate the industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.

“ It will ever be my ambition to promote the real interests of Ireland, and to contribute, by all the means in my power, towards establishing its future prosperity on the surest and most lasting foundation.”

Lord JOCELYN arose to move an address in answer to the speech—a liberty which he said he would by no means have taken, had not the whole nation been grateful witnesses of the anxious attention with which government had exerted itself to promote the public interest, and the public happiness; and had not he himself been desirous to express his approbation of the illustrious nobleman, to whom his Majesty had committed the charge of this kingdom, and who, he hoped, would long be continued in that most important trust—as from a character so amiable and so exalted, Ireland had every reason to expect a continuation and increase of her prosperity.—He then moved,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty, that we are happy in this opportunity of renewing our most sincere professions of respect and attachment to his royal person, family and government. That we gratefully acknowledge his Majesty’s goodness in continuing to us a chief governor whose public conduct and private virtues have justly endeared him to this nation. That we shall immediately apply ourselves to the dispatch of public affairs; and do entreat his Majesty to rest assured, that while our views are directed to the real interests of Ireland, our solicitude must be equally engaged to strengthen the connection and increase the prosperity of the empire. That we will cheerfully grant such supplies as shall be necessary for the public service, and for the honourable support of his Majesty’s government; and that we shall continue a due attention to the system adopted in the last session, of raising public credit, by preventing the accumulation of the national debt. That internal disorder and violation of the laws, must ever excite the indignation and resentment of a legislative body, whose duty is stimulated by an earnest desire to give peace and prosperity to the country; and that we shall therefore direct our attention to the establishment of an improved police, and to the obtaining a vigorous execution of the laws, so essential to the security of public and private property, and to the protection of society. That we shall make the Protestant Charter-Schools, the Linen and other Manufactures, the Agriculture, and the Fisheries of the kingdom, the objects of our deliberations; and apply ourselves to devise such measures as may best encourage industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people. That in seeking the happiness of our country we feel the incentive of his Majesty’s gracious example; we experience the blessings of his Majesty’s government, and humbly request his Majesty to accept from the hearts of his loyal people, the warm effusions of their constant gratitude and faithful duty.”

Mr. J. THOMAS FOSTER seconded the motion. He said he had much pleasure in observing the rapid progress the trade and manufactures were daily making in the country, and that he felt a grateful sense of the attention which government had given to these important objects; but, above all, he had pleasure in beholding the height to which public credit had arisen, by the judicious method of preventing the accumulation of debt—a measure for which government deserved the highest approbation, and which parliament might with truth assure his Majesty had been productive of the greatest benefit to the nation.

Mr. FLOOD.—An address of this importance ought to be well considered before the House consents to its being passed; and though I am as unwilling as any man to break the unanimity of

the House, and indeed hope there will be no occasion for a division, yet I cannot let this motion for an address pass unobserved.

The words in the speech from the throne are very moderately turned, yet I cannot help considering that it speaks of strengthening the connection between the sister kingdoms; that it states it for the consideration of this House; but at the same time leaves it so much at large, that under it the last rejected and reprobated system might be revived. I think therefore, the representatives of the people ought to speak out. The right honourable member, [Mr. Orde] at the close of the last session, appealed to the people of Ireland, and they have given him an answer—Their unanimous voice has rejected the system of that session, as betraying every right of their constitution and commerce. I desire to know if this answer be final? The wisdom of our laws has so closely connected the two nations, that they seek no new bond of union, and therefore talking of the connection looks like reviving the exploded system.

The address also pledges the House to equalize the revenue of the kingdom to the expences of government, without saying one word of reducing such as are extravagant. Now, I am against such a mode. I would not give ministers an unlimited letter of credit on the nation, endorsed by this House. I rather hoped that something more to the satisfaction of the people would have been said—that they would be told, their distresses should be alleviated—that their disapprobation had put an end to the system introduced last session. I hoped the right honourable member would have spoken of taking off some of the taxes of last session.

I know the weight of an unanimous address of this House—I know if I suffer any thing, which I consider as injurious, to pass without animadversion, that I shall hereafter be told, that the House by its unanimous address stands pledged to it, and therefore I now speak out, that the House may not again be harrassed with commercial systems.

Right Honourable THOMAS ORDE, (Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.)—I really believe, if I can form any opinion of the House, that had the address said a system of commerce should be brought forward, it would not be considered as harrassing the House, for I never will believe that the almost unanimous sentiments of the House could be so suddenly altered—I can have no doubt of answering the honourable member, but I will first ask him one question—In what part of the speech or of the address does he find that it is intended to bring forward the commercial system? This, however, I will say, that having stood up in my place, and become responsible for government, I never will recede from that consistency which I trust government has hitherto preserved.

The honourable gentleman has proposed another objection: He says we call upon the nation for taxes, and that we pledge parliament to an indefinite vote of credit. I beg the honourable gentleman will take the trouble of reading the address, and he will at once see that there is no such call, that there is no such pledge; there is indeed a principle which I believe every man will approve, of preventing the accumulation of debt; but there is no call to tax the people beyond the necessity of the country, nor any the least appearance of an intention of extravagance. The House can judge of the necessary supplies, and I trust will raise them in a manner as little burdensome to the people as possible.

Mr. FLOOD.—The right honourable member says that nothing in the speech nor in the address can give us any apprehension of the revival of that system we have just escaped. Now, I desire to know if he means to bring forward that system again? He has not said he does not. This country has spoke out against it, but government has not said they do not mean to bring it forward again; this I desire may be remembered. I wish the ends proposed in the speech (which is always considered as the speech of the minister) as much as the right honourable gentleman; but what means will be used to accomplish them? I wish he would say he has an idea, and that he would state it, or that he would say he has not one. If he will not be explicit, the public is hood-winked. There is just enough said to leave it in the power of ministers to do what they please, but not to excite and arouse an opposition that might be effectual.

In the last session it was proposed that Ireland should pay a certain sum for the advantages she was to derive from the commercial system then offered; the system has since been condemned, but the taxes then laid on are still to remain. The system now is, let the extravagance of government go as far as it will, parliament will tax the people to it; instead of lowering the expences of government to the abilities of the people, the taxes are to be equalized to the expences of government.

I was one of those who never thought that the propositions were advantageous; and even if they were admissible, the mode of paying for them was low, base and ignominious; but the propositions being now at an end, there can be no pretence in the midst of peace for waiting that treasure which ought to be the sinew of war.

I will therefore move you this amendment, after the words "honourable support of his Majesty's government:"—"And that we are happy to have it in our power, as it is our duty, to alleviate the burdens of the people."

Sir JOHN PARNELL, Baronet, (Chancellor of the Exchequer) said that he was as anxious as the honourable gen-

cleman could be to alleviate the burdens of the people, but he thought it his duty to say, that pledging the House to what it might not be able to perform, would be only deceiving the people. He earnestly wished that any means could be devised of lightening the people's burdens. No man, he said, was more capable of pointing out such means than the honourable gentleman; his assistance, therefore, he would claim when his duty should compel him to propose the necessary supplies to the House; but in the present state of the session, without information, or any document or account laid before the House, to promise the people that their taxes should be reduced, would be to promise what parliament might not, consistent with its wisdom and the good of the state, find itself able to perform.

He said that there was much ingenuity in the reasoning of the honourable gentleman, yet as it seemed to imply that the accumulation of debt was a less evil to a nation than the imposition of taxes, however judiciously contrived or faithfully applied, he must dissent from his opinion, and vote for the address in its original form.

Mr. CORRY.—I do not see in the address any thing which promises the revival of the commercial system. [Here Mr. Corry paused, looking stedfastly on Mr. Orde.]

Mr. ORDE.—If I understand the language, certainly there is not.

Mr. CORRY.—I thank the right honourable gentlemen for his declaration, and recollect that he said he never would desert his consistency of conduct. But I cannot, on looking at his conduct, find that consistency. I cannot help recollecting the almost unanimous address of this House in a former session, recommending a commercial system to be brought forward. I cannot help recollecting that the Lord Lieutenant, at the commencement of the last session, promised such a system in his speech from the throne; I cannot help recollecting the fate of that system in this House, and that the minister very constitutionally retired under an appeal to the people. I therefore thought in the address to have met with something concerning a commercial system, as I never will take that offer which was made, and rejected, as a performance of the engagement. What! because a scheme so black, that all who beheld it were struck with horror, was proposed; could that be filed a performance of promise?

The speech generally goes to give a retrospective view of what has been done by government since the last session, and to declare their intentions during the present session. What does the present speech say? As to the past, it declares that with an army of 12,000 men, government has not been able to keep the

internal peace of the country, and that as to the future, they will not put their hand to any system of commerce.

This, Sir, is a conduct that I never can approve, and therefore I give notice, that whether they bring it forward or not, commerce is a subject that I will not suffer to sleep. However, I rather wish the amendment may not be put.

Mr. FLOOD said, as to what had been said that he was premature, that the public accounts had not been gone into, he begged to know what could have drawn this kingdom into extraordinary expence? It was time of profound peace—Taxes to the amount of 140,000*l.* had been raised last year in expectation of benefits, and in order to enable the kingdom to dispose of part of the hereditary revenue for a particular purpose—That purpose was not answered, those benefits were not obtained; the surplus of the hereditary revenue was not therefore to be parted with. What expences then had this country incurred which could not be answered by the ordinary revenue? The additional burden of the 140,000*l.* was not to be applied like that of Great Britain, to a sinking fund. It was said that it was right not to go in debt—why to be sure it was—but then the system of policy was referred to, and it was right to see what that was; and what was it? Expend without limit, and we will grant without end.—Was this policy to be adopted by any private man, to spend without limit? certainly not. But he denied the principle that debt was always bad: How did a debt hurt the nation by providing for the interest? Now at 5 per cent. 50,000*l.* and at 4 per cent. 40,000*l.* would pay the interest of 500,000*l.* and might it not be easier for a nation to provide 40 or 50,000*l.* than to provide at one stroke the whole sum of 500,000*l.*? Now 140,000*l.* would pay the interest of a million and an half a year, so that the kingdom is to be saddled with this enormous sum, to prevent a debt greater than any she ever was able to incur: and this is policy, and in time of peace too. The honourable gentleman asked for his assistance to investigate the accounts; he should have it with all his heart, but it was in vain what he or that gentleman could do, if they had not the voice of parliament with them. As to a connection between both kingdoms, he saw no system necessary; the legislature of Ireland were competent to make laws, and to lay them before the sovereign for his assent. The connection between the kingdoms were settled by their ancestors upon a firm basis, and thank god do not stand on any little equivocal system of policy. He was against negotiation between two sovereigns: negotiation was right; but between two parliaments it would not do, it would never answer.

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The question being put on the amendment, it passed in the negative; after which the resolution for the address was carried without a division.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE then moved that an address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant; and a committee was appointed to draw up the same.

Mr. H. L. ROWLEY complained of the general confusion which the act of the last session, for registering freeholders, had occasioned throughout the whole kingdom; every clause of that act, he said, was fraught with absurdity and folly, and if it was not immediately altered or repealed, it was impossible to tell what mischief it might produce; one was, that it would put much money in the lawyers pockets; another, that no man would be able to vote except the registered forty-shilling freeholders.

Mr. O'HARA said the right honourable gentleman had in some degree anticipated his intention. He held in his hand a resolution which he was just about to move, that the operation of the bill for registering freeholders should be suspended for a limited time.

Mr. GARDINER said he was glad the honourable gentleman had brought forward such a motion, as he thought the bill in its present form extremely injudicious and oppressive, incapable of being carried into execution with any good effect, and requiring amendment in every clause. He agreed with Mr. Rowley that it would entirely deprive the most respectable part of the landed gentlemen of their elective franchise, and throw the whole power into the hands of the registered forty-shilling freeholders.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY said he thought the general scope and intention of the law was good; but he saw so many defects in the clauses, that he advised the honourable member, [Mr. O'Hara] to amend his resolution, so that it should run thus:—"Resolved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to suspend the operation of an act passed in the last session of parliament, for registering freeholders, &c. &c. and to explain and amend the same."

Mr. O'HARA acquiesced.

The SPEAKER acquainted the House he had, during the recess, issued a warrant for the election of a member for the borough of Taghmon, in the room of Dudley Hufley, Esq; deceased; and for the city of Limerick, in the room of Lord Viscount Pery.

Several accounts were moved for, the usual standing orders agreed to, and then the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1786.

Lord JOCELYN reported from the committee, appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, that they had drawn up the following address, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled, to the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

" Most gracious Sovereign,

" We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, rejoice in this opportunity of renewing our most sincere professions of respect and attachment to your royal person, family and government.

" We gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, in continuing to us a chief governor whose public conduct and private virtues have justly endeared him to this nation.

" We shall immediately apply ourselves to the dispatch of public affairs; and we entreat your Majesty to rest assured that while our views are intent upon the real interests of Ireland, our solicitude must be equally engaged to strengthen the connection and increase the prosperity of the empire.

" We will cheerfully grant such supplies as shall be necessary for the public service, and for the honourable support of your Majesty's government; and we shall continue a due attention to the system adopted in the last session, of raising public credit, by preventing an accumulation of the national debt.

" Internal disorder and violation of the laws must ever excite the indignation and resentment of a legislative body, whose duty is stimulated by an earnest desire to give peace and prosperity to the country; we shall therefore direct our attention to the establishment of an improved police, and to the obtaining a vigorous execution of the laws, so essential to the security of public and private property, and to the protection of society. We shall make the agriculture, manufactures and fisheries of the kingdom the objects of our deliberations; and apply ourselves to devise such measures as may best encourage industry, and improve the education and morals of the people.

" In seeking the happiness of our country we feel the incentive of your Majesty's gracious example; we experience the blessings of your government, and humbly request your Majesty to accept, from the hearts of your loyal people, the warm effusions of their constant gratitude and faithful duty."

Mr. O'HARA objected to that part of the address which related to the Lord Lieutenant's public conduct. He said he was ex-

ceedingly unwilling to oppose any thing which might seem a compliment to his Grace : He was willing to pay every respect to his private virtues, which no doubt might well entitle him to the affection of this kingdom ; nay, perhaps his public virtues might deserve our regard, but public conduct seemed to allude to his measures, and in this sense of the word the declaration could not be maintained : His measures had displeased a very respectable part of that House, and had displeased the people at large ; and therefore he for one would conceive, was he to vote for the address, in this manner, that he was passing a tacit censure on himself. Every man who voted against the commercial adjustment must feel himself in the same situation ; he would therefore propose an amendment, which, in his opinion, would render the address less exceptionable, and was, that the word *conduct* should be left out ; then the paragraph would run thus : “ *Whose public and private virtues, &c.*” This way he would have no objection to it, as he was very willing to pay every tribute both to the public and private perfection of his Grace, at the same time that he disapproved of many of the measures of administration.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE opposed the amendment. He said the worthy member who had moved it, had alluded solely to one particular transaction, and that transaction need only be considered to render the conduct of his Grace worthy the warmest affection of the people. How did it stand ? An address had been unanimously voted in that House for a commercial arrangement ; accordingly much care and judgment was exercised in forming one ; and a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde] had introduced propositions, which met with a very general approbation in parliament, and he would say, the unanimous consent of the nation. These propositions were sent over to Great Britain, and there they were altered. He did not blame the administration here ; no, nor the administration in Great Britain, for those alterations ; they were a faction, and to monopolists : however the right honourable gentleman did not think (even altered as they were) that the advantages which might be derived under them ought to be lost, though they were not altogether as beneficial as he wished them to be ; and could he have been convinced that any commercial advantage whatsoever could compensate for the surrender of an atom of constitution, he might have agreed with the right honourable gentleman in opinion. He, however, brought in a bill, differing no doubt from what was first proposed ; but that was no fault of his, he had a majority in favour of the introduction of that bill. What did he do next ? Did he press the measure ? No ; he left it for the consideration of the people, and declared he would never bring it forward again, unless called upon by the people. This was a conduct the most honourable, and

such as must ever endear the present administration to the kingdom. If, therefore, the honourable gentleman had no other ground for moving his amendment, than that one, he thought that it was a ground, which considered, must render the conduct of the present administration worthy the highest esteem; and therefore he would vote for the address as it originally stood.

The question being put, the amendment was negatived without a division, after which the paragraph was agreed to.

The next paragraph, relative to granting supplies, was read.

Mr. FLOOD.—Sir, if gentlemen on the other side the House take advantage of our pliability to compliment the illustrious nobleman who presides over us, in order to draw forth an approbation of their measures, they lead us into an awkward situation, because they make us now seem to disapprove of a compliment, which otherwise we might be willing to pay, by obliging us to disapprove of their measures. My honourable friend near me, has in the amendment he proposed, handled the business with his usual delicacy; but if, Sir, by approving of his Grace's public conduct, I am to be considered as approving of his measures, I never can agree to it; if I did, Sir, I must agree to the restraints laid upon the press, greater here than in Great Britain. I must agree to an unheard-of number of the army crammed into the capital at the time of the sitting of parliament. I must agree to new barracks rising in every quarter of the city; to insolent invectives against the characters of the nation, branding the people as guilty of outrage and tumult, while the outrages and tumults committed by a certain description of men are passed over in silence—of men, whom from the respect I have for their commanders, I will not name—but who are a body of men, the smallest disorder committed by whom, it must be allowed, is much more alarming to the kingdom, than if committed by any other; and I must agree to the unconstitutional extension of attachments to greater lengths than they are extended in Great Britain.

But, Sir, I have heard it rumoured that a great and sound lawyer has apostatized, and has changed his opinion upon this subject; but if any great lawyer has changed his opinion, let him be named. No, Sir, no great and learned lawyer ever can change his opinion, unless it be to oppose that extension; because no great and sound lawyer can ever change from what is right, and sink into error. But, Sir, I will just mention what Lord Bacon says upon the subject, and this will shew the origin of the unconstitutional exercise of attachments. He says, Sir, speaking of the reign of Henry the Seventh—and whereas kings oftener meet with instruments to their will and pleasure (I hope that is not the present case) than friends to their honour, so this

king (meaning Henry) joined himself with Empsom and Dudley, bold men, but careless of the realm.—Dudley could make a hateful thing seem pleasing, but Empsom triumphed in the deed done; Empsom rejoiced in the evil committed. In the end, they even laid by the form of indictment; for at first, Sir, the mode was to proceed against persons by indictment, and then by delaying the trial, to force them into a composition; but at length, they even laid by the form of indictment, and caused persons to be attached, and brought before commissioners, whereby they proceeded in a summary manner, depriving the subject of a trial by jury. Here, Sir, is the original of those sort of attachments, and I cite this in addition to the many authorities which have been already mentioned on this subject.

I say therefore, Sir, all those are measures which I cannot agree in. But now to the point before us—Here, Sir, is a system of taxation, not of œconomy—a system which must be ruinous to the nation. I hope, Sir, gentlemen will have the candour to believe, that I cannot be vain of appearing singular.—Sir, I have more interest in the welfare of this country, than I can have in opposing or harrassing any minister. I have also the highest respect for a majority of this House, and I would always submit my opinion to that majority, if I could be convinced of one thing—that is, that the majority always thoroughly considered the matter, and that they gave their suffrage without any respect to party or private interest or connections. If I could be convinced of this, I would readily submit my opinion to the majority; because I should submit it to the judgment of many wiser men, and of few less wise than myself. But, Sir, as we all know there have been majorities, who have acted from interest and private views, I trust they will not blame me, if I do not always subscribe to their determinations. I say, Sir, that principle adopted, always to raise our revenue to our expence, must be ruinous to Ireland, as a commercial nation. What has been our constant complaint? Our poverty. What has hindered our trade from flourishing? Our want of capital; for I think we have at present all the rights of trade we can well desire. Then, Sir, how can we remedy those evils? Only by lightening the burthens of the people.—Our trade is infant—I trust thriving, and I hope it will not be smothered in the cradle. I shall not enter into abstract reasonings upon this subject, but I shall just mention the arguments made use of in Great Britain against the commercial adjustment—our taxes being so low, and labour so cheap. Now, Sir, here it is plain the lightness of taxation is considered an advantage to trade. But, Sir, they did not go deep into the matter; for Sir, though their taxes are high, and though their labour is dear, yet they are the consequence of the riches of the

nation. Our lightness of taxation, and the cheapness of our labour, are the consequences of our poverty; and therefore our lightness of burthen and labour, can be no more advantageous, than poverty is preferable to riches. I admit, indeed, if in Great Britain taxes were low, and labour cheap there, because the people are rich, it would be a benefit. But is it not clear, that in a country oppressed with poverty, and burthened with taxes, there is such a host of evils to encounter, as no nation can possibly bear? But gentlemen say aye; but how do you know whether there is room for retrenchment? Why if I am asked my opinion, I will answer—I am sure if we wait until the right honourable gentleman shall promise a retrenchment we shall have none—no, Sir, I do not expect it from him; all I shall ask of him is, when gentlemen here propose a fair and moderate measure, that he will not set his face against it?—The right honourable gentleman is not a native of this country—he has no estate in this country; in a few days, months, or years, he will leave this kingdom, and perhaps never desire to see it again, unless it be to pay a visit to some of his friends upon his right hand or his left. I look upon an English secretary here, to be somewhat like what Lord Waltham says of an ambassador—an ambassador is a very honest gentleman, who goes abroad to lie for the good of his country.—Now, Sir, I consider an English secretary here, to be often somewhat in this situation. I do not blame the ambassador who lies for the good of his country, but I blame the nation who believes him; so I do not blame the secretary who does his best for his country, but I blame the kingdom for confiding in him; I blame the dupery on the one hand, more than the knavery, if I may be allowed the expression, on the other—No, Sir, I do not look to him, nor the gentlemen about him, who are natives indeed, to be the source of every boon and blessing to this country; I dare say the gentleman would not be much obliged to me if I did not do him the justice to believe, that he would be as adroit, and manage his business as well, and be as clever as any secretary who ever sat here.—No, Sir, I shall be content if he does not oppose what is reasonable—But, Sir, see how the matter stands; an adjustment was proposed last session, which was to bring in great advantages—indeed I never saw it in that light, though an honourable gentleman has spoke very highly of it; well—we were told it would make us a great nation—the depot of the empire—Great Britain was to sink before us—we to become her carriers—and we were to get so much by it that we raised 140,000*l.* for the very purpose of giving away part of the hereditary duties.

The policy was, we raised new duties in order to give away part of the old duties—this certainly was bad policy—but at all events if we had given away the hereditary revenue, those new duties were to make up the deficiency.

Now it turns out that we have not got the expected advantages; we are not to give away any thing; surely then, it amounts to a demonstration, that we must have something to retrench; but besides this, there is something highly disgraceful in keeping the price, when the advantages are not to be obtained; it is to swindle as it were with a great nation. And I again say, Sir, that the accumulation of debt is only injurious on account of interest; to raise the interest on 20,000*l.* is an injury to the public, but this is in the same breath to say, that to raise 20,000*l.* at once upon the public, is no injury; that is, you shall, to avoid a bad measure, agree to that which is twenty or forty times worse, as being twenty times better. For these reasons I must therefore move you an amendment, similar to that which I moved last night, which is by inserting after the word grant, the following words:—*The usual supplies for the support of his Majesty's government, happy that at the same time it will be in our power to alleviate the burdens of the public, by remitting the new taxes granted last session, to the estimated amount of 140,000*l.* and founded on the propositions of commercial arrangement*—in the place of the remaining words of the paragraph.

Mr. TRENCH.—After having with my best attention heard the speech three times read, I must declare, that I think there never proceeded from the throne one less exceptionable. I also think a paragraph worded with more propriety was never offered in a House of Commons, than that against which the honourable gentleman excepts. Nothing can be more advantageous to the people, or more honourable to their representatives, than to prevent the accumulation of debt. It requires indeed a bold and vigorous mind to undertake such a task, for 'tis with nations as with individuals, while they are only called upon for the interest of debts, and find easy means of paying that interest, they seldom have exertion enough to stop the accumulation of debt, much less to undertake the discharge of it, until at last they are sunk in bankruptcy and ruin. The sum of 140,000*l.* so much insisted on by the honourable gentleman, was never connected with any transaction with England; whatever was to be remitted was to be from the surplus of the hereditary revenue, not from the taxes of last year; and I am convinced that any redundancy which may arise from these taxes, will be faithfully applied to alleviate the burdens which bear most heavily on the poor. I am against having any of them taken off; on the contrary, I think that great thanks are due to those who contrived them to fall almost wholly on the rich—Formerly while every poor labourer was taxed for his draught of ale, the luxurious man of fortune might brew whatever quantity he thought proper, for the indulgence of forty or fifty idle servants, without contributing a shilling to the revenue,

Now the case is altered by the malt tax, and he bears a share of the public burdens, proportioned to his fortune.

There is a paragraph in the address which I think of great importance; it is that which regards the maintenance of internal peace, and the improvement of the police—this is an undertaking highly honourable to the legislative body; the consequence will be, that in suppressing riot and disorder, you will raise the value of your lands; for when it is understood that people may possess their lands in peace and security, the value of those lands must naturally increase.

Upon the whole, I think the address so properly drawn, and a compliment so justly due, that I shall vote for its original form.

Mr. FLOOD replied, that his honourable friend was a young member, and he was sure would not long hold out this language. Confidence in ministers was not parliamentary talk; when gentlemen spoke thus, they forsook the cold atmosphere of parliament, and got into the warm climate of an anti-chamber.

He took a retrospective view of this kingdom, at the end of the two last wars; the professions of different ministers; the declaration of one, when he asked for 100,000*l.* that this nation should never run in debt again. Yet last session 140,000*l.* more was granted, and supposing he was inclined to place confidence in the ministers, what pledge was there that the expences would not next year exceed the revenue? It was wrong to run in debt—true—but it was equally wrong to have expences without limit, and taxation without end.

Mr. TRENCH.—The gentleman has declared that I am a very young member—I know it, and for that reason I do not often intrude; but I now rise to declare over again, that there is no connection between the 140,000*l.* and the surplus of the hereditary revenue, which was to have been applied towards the support of the navy of the empire if the commercial adjustment had proceeded, and therefore 'tis unfair in any gentleman to confound the two together, and impress the public with an opinion, that the 140,000*l.* taxes, were granted for the commercial adjustment, when he well knows they were granted to prevent the accumulation of national debt, and in no wise connected with that adjustment.

The question was then put on Mr. Flood's amendment, and negatived without a division.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE reported from the committee, appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that they had drawn up the following address, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table.

The humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, in Parliament assembled, to his Grace CHARLES, DUKE of RUTLAND, LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL and GENERAL GOVERNOR of IRELAND.

" May it please your Grace,

" We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to return your Grace our sincere thanks for your speech from the throne. We embrace with alacrity and pleasure the opportunity of repeating our testimony of duty and attention to your person, our high sense of your virtues and abilities, our entire approbation of your administration, and our gratitude to his Majesty for continuing your Grace in the government of this kingdom.

" We shall cheerfully enter upon the dispatch of public business, under your Grace's auspices; and deeply impressed with the wisdom and necessity of a firm connection with Great Britain, so essential to the prosperity of both kingdoms, we shall combine our endeavours for the advantage of Ireland, with a just attention to the interests of the empire.

" It affords us the highest satisfaction that our endeavours to prevent the accumulation of public debt are likely to prove successful; we shall adhere to a principle so necessary for the support of national credit, and so highly advantageous to a commercial kingdom; and we shall readily grant such supplies as may be sufficient for the exigencies of the nation, and for the support and dignity of his Majesty's government.

" We feel the utmost concern and indignation at the frequent outrages which have been committed in some parts of the kingdom, and heartily concur with your Grace in the expediency of establishing and enforcing a judicious system of police, in order to put a stop to such disgraceful proceedings.

" The protestant charter schools, the linen and other manufactures, the agriculture and the fisheries of this kingdom, are objects which will always claim our particular attention; and we shall be ready to adopt such measures as may appear likely to encourage a spirit of industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.

" Conscious as we are of the benefits derived from your Grace's administration, and of the proofs of your attachment to the interests of this country, we shall at all times use our utmost exertions to promote his Majesty's service, and the ease and honour of your Grace's government."

This address was agreed to by the House.

Mr. ORDE informed the House, that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant having been waited upon, to know his Grace's pleasure

when he would be attended by the House with the address to his Majesty and to his Grace, had been pleased to appoint to-morrow, at half past three o'Clock.

Mr. O'HARA presented a bill to suspend for a limited time, the operation of an act passed last session of parliament, entitled an act for the more effectually registering of freeholders, so far as the same shall affect the election of members to serve in parliament; which was received and read the first time.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1786.

The House met, and adjourned for half an hour.

The House having met again, pursuant to adjournment, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with the address to his Majesty, and that his Grace was pleased to return the following answer :

" I will forthwith transmit this dutiful and loyal address to be laid before his Majesty."

The SPEAKER reported also, that he had presented the address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, for his speech to both houses of parliament, and that his Grace was pleased to return the following answer :

" I return you my cordial thanks for this address, and am extremely gratified by your testimony of personal regard, and repeated approbation of my public conduct.

" I shall ever anxiously study to preserve your good opinion, by employing, on all occasions, my constant exertions for the welfare of Ireland, and by promoting the connected strength and prosperity of the empire."

Mr. CORRY moved, severally, that the proper officers lay before the House, an abstract of the produce of the additional duties laid last session, up to the 25th of December last, specifying the particular articles.

An account of the civil and military pensions, as they stood the 19th of January, 1786.

An account of new places and employments, in the year ending the 19th of January, 1786.

The gross amount of pensions, the first of January every year, since 1726.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL [Right Honourable John Fitzgibbon] objected, as he thought it not within the knowledge

of any person to satisfy the honourable member, as many of the pensions were granted in trust.

Mr. CORRY said he was as well convinced as the right honourable member, that some pensions were granted in trust; but that could not militate against the investigation he wished. The enormous sum, which added to the dignity of that list, was still conspicuous, and many of them being granted in trust could not obscure that circumstance.

The question was put and carried.

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1786.

A petition of the governors of the foundling-hospital and work-house, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that on the 25th of December last there were supported by that charity three hundred and twenty-eight children of the age of eight years and upwards, and at nurse in the country four thousand five hundred and fourteen; that there was a large debt due for provisions, clothing, house expences, salaries, wages, repairs, materials for manufactures, and nursery garden; and that there was also due to nurses in the country the sum of 8810l. 3s. — $\frac{1}{4}$ d. amounting in the whole to the sum of 11910l. 15s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. towards satisfaction of which the petitioners have no funds, save the outstanding arrears of their taxes, to the amount of 6007l. 2s. 3d. so that there remains a debt of 5903l. 13s. — $\frac{1}{4}$ d. without any possible means of discharging the same, except by the aid and benevolence of parliament; and that the gross number of persons supported this year by the charity amounts to four thousand nine hundred and eighteen; and therefore praying for relief to carry on the important purposes of that useful and extensive institution.

Mr. CALDWELL moved for leave to bring in a bill to make wide and convenient passages through the city of Dublin, and for *other purposes*.

Lord NAAS objected to the words *other purposes*—words which, he said, should never be introduced in the title of any bill.

The words were struck out, and the bill ordered.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE reminded the House of an order made in the last session, that a report of the estimated expence of certain canals should be laid before the House on the first day of the present session—an order which the engineers found it impossible to obey; he therefore moved the House that the time might be extended to the second of February.

It was ordered accordingly.

A petition of the inhabitants of the town of Belfast, was presented and read, setting forth, that the bill lately introduced into this House for effectuating a commercial intercourse between this kingdom and Great Britain contains, with very little alteration, the whole substance of the twenty propositions of the British parliament, and, if passed into a law, would be ruinous to the manufactures and commerce, destructive of the liberties, and subversive of the constitution of this country; that it is the unalienable and fundamental right of the people of Ireland to be free from the authority of any legislature whatsoever, save only of the parliament of Ireland; and that any covenant, agreement or statute, containing in any shape or form whatsoever an agreement that the parliament of Ireland shall from time to time enact in this country laws which shall be passed in another, is inconsistent with the said fundamental right, would render the parliament of this realm the register of another legislature, would in substance revive and introduce, by the means of our own parliament, the dominion of another, and would overturn the constitution of this realm; that a free trade is the unalienable and fundamental right of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, and that any covenant to surrender the same, or any part thereof, is inconsistent with said fundamental and unalienable right; that any covenant to alienate for ever the revenues of this land, more especially under the colour of payment for enjoyment of our natural rights and equality, is disgraceful and inconsistent with the limited power of an octennial trust; and that a perpetual revenue bill, or any covenant or agreement to renew the same from time to time, is dangerous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the limited nature of an octennial trust; and representing that an infringement of those principles must be an infringement of the constitution of this kingdom, as a free, sovereign, independent state; that the said bill is in direct opposition to each and every of those principles; and therefore sup-
plicating that said bill may never be suffered to be again introduced, and not only so, but that no other bill, however modified, which shall infringe in any degree on any of the said principles, may ever be suffered to pass into a law.

Mr. HEWITT said this petition was contrary to his own opinion, and in his mind, useless to present; for, as the commercial system was at an end, it might be called killing a dead man.

Mr. HOLMES, with his wonted humanity, rose to move for a revival of the committee for enquiring into the state of the gaols. He declared that he had a great pleasure in being able to say, that much good had already resulted from the enquiry of the former committee—the attention and the feelings of the

public had been roused, and it only remained for parliament to give them the proper direction.

A committee was accordingly appointed.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON presented a bill for the more effectual punishment of persons who shall attain or attempt to attain possession of money or goods by false pretences, or by threat ; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, that a supply be granted to his Majesty ; and that this motion be referred to a committee of the whole House.

The House was ordered to sit thereon to-morrow.

Mr. CORY desired to know whether from the accounts on the table he would be enabled to collect the information required in the resolution which he had withdrawn on Saturday.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, all duties were in the public accounts stated separately, therefore the amount of any duty purely new would be easily ascertained from the accounts on the table ; and even where a duty was compounded of new and old, as in some of the stamp duties, there would be no difficulty in ascertaining nearly the truth, by deducting the amount of the old.

Mr. CORY.—I agree with the right honourable gentleman ; and now he has mentioned the stamps, I take this opportunity of saying, that I shall make them a principal object of my attention. I am not without hope that some alteration will be made in them ; for I think with the public, that they are not exactly the most constitutional that could have been devised. At present, I shall move you, Sir, that the proper officers do lay before this House, an account of the amount of all the new or additional duties laid on last session, distinguishing each.

It was ordered accordingly.

Mr. O'HARA moved for the annual and gross amount of the sums expended in building the new custom-house.

Mr. BERESFORD said there was no annual account of the expence, but if the honourable gentleman desired to know the gross sum, the books were ready for his inspection at half an hour's warning.

Mr. O'HARA.—I shall be satisfied with that ; I only call for this account that gentlemen may know what the revenue of the country is, which is so much better than it appears, by exactly the sum expended in that building.

A petition of the inhabitants of Newry, was presented and read, setting forth, that the bill lately introduced into the House for effectuating a commercial intercourse between this kingdom and Great Britain contains, with every little alteration, the whole substance of the twenty propositions of the British parliament, and, if passed into a law, would be ruinous to the manufactures and commerce, destructive of the liberties, and subversive of the constitution of this country; that it is the unalienable and fundamental right of the people of Ireland to be free from the authority of any legislature whatsoever, save only the parliament of Ireland; and that any covenant, agreement or statute, containing in any shape or form whatsoever an agreement that the parliament of Ireland shall from time to time enact in this country laws which shall be passed in another, is inconsistent with the said fundamental right, would render the parliament of this realm the register of another legislature, would in substance revive and introduce, by the means of our own parliament, the dominion of another, and would overturn the constitution of this realm; that a free trade is the unalienable and fundamental right of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, and that any covenant to surrender the same, or any part thereof, is inconsistent with the said unalienable and fundamental right; that any covenant to alienate for ever the revenues of this land, more especially under the colour of payment for enjoyment of our natural rights and equality, is disgraceful and inconsistent with the limited power of an octennial trust; and that a perpetual revenue bill, or any covenant or agreement to renew the same from time to time, is dangerous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the limited nature of an octennial trust; that any infringement of these principles must be an infringement of the constitution of this kingdom, as a free, sovereign, and independant state; that the said bill is in direct opposition to each and every of these principles; and therefore supplicating that said bill may never be suffered to be again brought forward, and not only so, but that no other bill, however modified, which shall infringe in any degree on any of the said principles, may ever be suffered to pass into a law.

Colonel Ross said that he differed, upon this point, with his constituents.

Mr. CORRY said that he had a very different opinion from the honourable member. He said he would, if the honourable member had not been so hasty, have saved him the disagreeable office of presenting that petition, by introducing the duplicate of it, which he at the same time received, had now in his possession, and which he was happy to say he entirely concurred in. But

since the commercial business was now broached, he would ask a question of the right honourable secretary on that subject, that much concerned the nation to know; whether ministry intended to bring in any system of commercial adjustment this session or not, and of what nature it was to be?

Mr. ORDE.—I apprehended that the answer I gave to this question the other day was sufficiently satisfactory; I shall now only say, that whatever government will do, it shall be with confidence.

Mr. CORRY said that an easy smile and an enigmatical answer to a momentous question, might satisfy the friends round the right honourable stranger, but would hardly, he believed, satisfy either the opposite side of the House, or the people at large. He might have a great regard for Ireland, he said, but the right honourable stranger could not feel so lively an interest upon that point, as most other men in the country, and therefore that light smile might well become his feelings on the subject. He said that if a system was not brought forward, the word of ministry, often pledged; and even the word of majesty in recommending it from the throne, must remain to sink unperformed—for that the introduction of a bill of a nature that made it inadmissible could never be held a performance of a thing absolutely promised—the confidence of administration might mean one of two things—if it meant, that in consistency with their promise, they would follow up an adjustment between the two countries, he would rest satisfied with that answer; and wait with patience to see it and consider it; but if that consistency meant, that the system when produced was to be in conformity with the principles of the last bill, then indeed he must join with his constituents, a respectable mercantile body of men, and with the nation, to reprobate that consistency; and the sooner the nation knew it the better.

Lord LUTTRELL.—I have great doubts whether the honourable gentleman does not call for that which in point of parliamentary order he has no right to demand. But does the honourable gentleman desire, that no commercial system shall be entered into, at a time that the British ministers are occupied in establishing treaties with France, nay, with every power in Europe; and with America? Would he have it understood that Ireland is to be precluded? He cannot have such a wish. Whatever system is necessary ought undoubtedly to be brought forward, and if the right honourable secretary shall offer one, he will certainly give full time for investigation.

I have heard it said that the people are unwilling to receive the system that was offered.—I know the arts that are used to make the people unwilling; but the people do not always remain

in the same opinion. Sometimes they change their opinion in a year, sometimes in a month, sometimes in a week, nay, sometimes even in a day, and if the present session should continue as long as the last, I am persuaded it will outlive the present opinion of the people.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I cannot help thinking the cause of the right honourable Secretary somewhat hard. One gentleman reproaches him that he does not bring forward a commercial system; another [Mr. Flood] blames him because he imagines he perceives something in the speech which looks as if the commercial system was to be again brought before this House. How is it possible he can please both?

As to the bill which was introduced last session, I have read, I believe, all the resolutions that have been entered into against it, and I find the proceedings at the different meetings upon the bill have been thus:—Sometimes they have read it, sometimes they have not; then they have stated something that was not in the bill, and this something they have condemned. Nay, they have condemned every part of the negotiation as injurious to their constitution, and an alienation of their unalienable rights. They say a covenant on the part of Great Britain, to secure to them for ever a decided preference to their linens, is injurious to their constitution, and an alienation of their unalienable rights. A covenant never to tax coals, bark, and sundry materials necessary to manufacture, is an infringement on their constitution, and an alienation of their unalienable rights; so that, while the people of this country remain in their present humour, I never will advise that any commercial system be undertaken, because it is impossible to give them satisfaction, until time and cool reflection shall shew them, that to attempt the many and great advantages offered by England, would neither be a direliction of their constitution, nor an alienation of their unalienable rights.

Mr. STEWART assured the House he had no intention of rising to debate the point, but what had fallen from the right honourable member who spoke last, called him up to say, that the county he had the honour to represent did not condemn the bill on account of the compacts he had stated, but upon account of compacts which he had not stated; and that there never was on any occasion, a more respectable meeting, or so unanimous as that which had condemned the bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declared he did not allude to any one county in particular.

Mr. CORRY.—I am far from condemning every system of commerce that could be proposed—it is the bill presented to this

House that I condemn. But there are many instances within the power of the Irish parliament, in which they can essentially serve this country without entering into any negotiation at all. The navigation laws—the trade to India—the imports from that country, which are consumed here to the amount of 300,000*l.* a year, though their use is strictly forbidden in England, the nation that enjoys the India trade. All these are subjects that must and will be investigated. There is another—This country is rising fast in consequence, and will no longer suffer her trade to be disposed of at the will of an English minister. We last year called for treaties, which were refused in a most unprecedented manner.—England, it is said, is now occupied in forming treaties with France and other states; and can it be supposed that this country will rest satisfied with a dark answer from a foreign secretary? While her dearest rights are now settling, perhaps for ever, if the secretary does not take up the subject, gentlemen on this side of the House must, even without the advantages of official information, in such manner as they may be able and as prudence may warrant.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he could not avoid congratulating his country on its happy situation, which had rendered it a matter of so much difficulty for the ablest men to suggest any topic of debate; and that therefore gentlemen were reduced to the necessity of arguing on their own interrogatories. He had ever, he said, highly approved that sound political maxim, that ministers should not pretend even great benefits on a free nation, contrary to its own inclination; and he was glad to find the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde] had followed the example of that able minister, Mr. Pelham, in adhering stedfastly to that maxim.

As the resolutions of different meetings, against the commercial system, had been mentioned, he said he would make one observation on the subject. He had read many of them, and found one circumstance made the foundation of the whole. In all the resolutions he had read, it was assumed that the bill contained a covenant to follow the laws of another country. If it had, he would have joined with those who resolved against it, and would have rejected it with indignation; but after having most carefully examined the bill, it was as plain to him, and as demonstrable as any proposition that could be stated, that the bill either directly or by construction contained no such thing; and if it did not, the resolutions against it were founded in mistake.

Mr. FORBES.—I am still of the same opinion, respecting the commercial bill, I was of on the 12th of August last, though I have heard and read the right hon. gentleman's pamphlet, and every thing that has been said or written upon the subject of that day; and I only wish that as some gentlemen have suffered much on this oc-

caſion, in character, as politicians and writers, they were recommended by the right honourable ſecretary.

Mr. TOLER ſaid, perhaps the reaſon why the gentlemen who had voted againſt the bill had not written any pamphlets againſt it was, becauſe they did not find it an eaſy taſk to reaſon againſt a ſyſtem ſo fair and ſo beneficial to this country—it was much eaſier to inflame the paſſions than to convince the reaſon, where arguments were unfounded in fact.

The SECRETARY OF STATE roſe to explain. He ſaid he hoped it would never be deemed derogatory to any man to account for his parliamentary conduct to his conſtituents: For himſelf, he had great pleaſure in reflecting, that for five and twenty years he had maintained the moſt friendly correſpondence with the city he had the honour to repreſent; and though when he had formed an opinion upon the full conviction of his own mind, he never would relinquish it for any man, yet he held it but right for a repreſentative to align his reaſon to his conſtituents, when he had the miſfortune of differing from them, and if he could not perſuade them to become of his opinion, at leaſt to ſhew them that he acted upon principle, and in a full belief that he was doing right. Conſonant to this rule, after the addreſs of the Cork grand jury had been preſented to him, he expreſſed his difference of opinion explicitly and decidedly. Complaints were made that he had treated his conſtituents with diſreſpect, by not explaining his reaſons; he felt the force of the obſervation, and thought himſelf called upon to align his reaſons. He did ſo in a letter to one of the magiſtrates; which the honourable gentleman had been pleaſed to dignify with the title of a pamphlet, at the ſame time the bill itſelf was before the public, as alſo the debate upon it, which had been faithfully reported. However, he did not think the honourable gentleman had been very orderly in the language he had uſed, and though he was as far from giving as from taking offence, he felt himſelf called upon to ſay, that what the honourable gentleman had ſaid of a compenſation from the oſtenſible miniſter, appeared to him by no means proper.

Mr. FORBES aſſured the right honourable gentleman he had not the moſt diſtant intention of giving him any offence in what he ſaid.

The SECRETARY OF STATE declared himſelf ſatisfied.

The SPEAKER roſe to mention a circumſtance of ſome importance, upon which he deſired the opinion of the Houſe. He ſaid it had hitherto been the practice in Ireland, when any particular order was made for a certain day, if it was not diſpoſed of on that day, to let it lie over to the next, and ſo from day to day until it was taken up, or until the end of the ſeſſion; by this means or-

ders accumulated upon orders, so that gentlemen were seldom truly apprized of what was to come before them at any time. In England, he said, he had been informed the case was otherwise: If an order was not taken up on the day appointed for its discussion, it fell to the ground of course, unless revived by motion. He therefore desired the opinion of the House which mode he should follow.

It seemed the general opinion to follow the latter.

The **SPEAKER** declared that whenever an order was not disposed of on the day fixed for it, he would direct the clerk to strike it out of his list, unless revived by motion.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1786.

Mr. ALCOCK presented a petition of George and William Penrose, of the city of Waterford, merchants, setting forth that the petitioners have, with great difficulty, and at the expence of upwards of 10,000*l.* established a most complete and extensive manufactory of flint glass in the city of Waterford, which is equal if not superior in quality to any hitherto made or imported into this kingdom; that the works are now so extended as to employ daily from fifty to seventy industrious manufacturers, most of whom have been brought from England at a very heavy expence; and that since the establishment of the said works the importation of flint glass into that part of the kingdom has entirely ceased; that several members of the House have favoured the manufactory with their presence, and after a very minute inspection into the whole process of the work, have been pleased to express their approbation thereof in the strongest terms; and that from the great sums of money already expended by the petitioners, in bringing this arduous undertaking to perfection, they find themselves under the necessity of praying aid from the House.

Mr. GARDINER presented a petition of the minister and churchwardens of the parish of St. Michael, Dublin, setting forth that the said parish was in former days the seat of many opulent traders and respectable persons, whose houses bore large rents, and were rated in an equitable proportion to those rents for the payment of minister's money and other taxes; and that these houses have long since fallen considerably in their value, and are tenanted at present at reduced rents, by persons of inferior trades and conditions, who, in consequence of the original valuation, are subjected to an higher rate of taxation than would be deemed equitable if they were to be valued anew at this day; that the increase of public taxes of late years has in this respect borne very heavily upon them,

inſomuch as to render them totally unequal to any extraordinary, occasional aſſeſſment; that their pariſh church is in an irreparably ruinous condition, and the congregation of this ancient pariſh hath been for almoſt four years paſt ſcattered from their proper place of worſhip, to the great diſcouragement of the eſtabliſhed religion, and the detriment of their numerous poor; that the petitioners have had recourſe to the moſt ſkillful and approved architects for a plan of a decent and commodious church, adapted to the ſite of their ground, and to the neceſſities of the congregation; but that being, for the reaſons above mentioned, unprovided for the expence of carrying it into execution, which is eſtimated at about 3000*l.* they humbly preſume to lay it before this honourable Houſe, ſubmitting their caſe and circumſtances to its humane conſideration, and imploring aid.

Mr. NEVILLE preſented a petition of the mayor, bailiffs, burgeſſes, freemen, merchants, traders and inhabitants of the town and borough of Wexford, ſetting forth, that the bar or entrance into the harbour of Wexford is exceedingly dangerous and unſafe, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the water thereon; that many veſſels are thereby frequently loſt or otherwiſe damaged in their paſſage in and out, and that this would be in a great meaſure remedied by conſining the water, and deepening the channel; that an effectual means of doing this would be by extending a quay along the ſaid town, from the cuſtom-houſe quay to St. Paul's quay, which would conſiderably deepen the water, and enable veſſels of a good burden to enter therein, and ſhelter themſelves in caſe of danger, which muſt be of very conſiderable advantage to the homeward bound trade in St. George's channel, for Ireland, England and Scotland, as great loſſes frequently happen between the ports of Waterford and Dublin, for want of a ſafe entrance into the harbour of Wexford; that the port of Dublin is often prevented of a riſing market in their corn trade by ſupplies from the town of Wexford, when by means of ſoutherly winds all other ports north and weſt of Dublin are ſhut up; that the petitioners apprehend the revenue of the kingdom would receive very conſiderable advantage thereby, as it would open a free trade for the importation of foreign ſpirits, by enabling veſſels of ſuch a ſize as the laws at preſent require to enter therein, which would tend in a great meaſure to check the illicit practice of ſmuggling, ſo much to the prejudice of his Maſteſty's revenue, and the injury of the fair trader; and that though from the petitioners great attention to tillage the county of Wexford may juſtly be reckoned one of the formeſt in Ireland to contribute to the growing proſperity of the kingdom, yet the petitioners have never yet been burdensome to parliament, or received any aid or bounty from them; and therefore praying aid to carry ſaid work into execution.

Mr. HARTLEY presented a petition of the minister, church warden and protestant parishioners of the parish of St. Nicholas without the walls of the city of Dublin, setting forth that the inhabitants of the said parish having, after repeated attempts, found it impossible to procure a piece of ground for the site of a church within the precincts of their parish, obtained of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, upwards of an hundred years ago, the north-east angle of the building belonging to their cathedral to be a place of worship for the use of the parishioners of St. Nicholas without, which the said parishioners accordingly fitted up for the purpose of divine service, at a very considerable expence, and which has ever since been the parish church of the said parish; that by length of time, and by means also of the frequent floods, to which this part especially of the cathedral is liable, the walls of this church have been found to be altogether decayed, the timber work damaged, and the roof and galleries in a most ruinous condition, so that the parishioners of St. Nicholas without have been under the necessity of discontinuing divine service in it upwards of these four years past, to the exceeding inconvenience of the protestant inhabitants of said parish, and the great detriment of the numerous poor resident therein; that from the report of able workmen it has appeared, that in order to render this place of worship effectual, and to secure it against future floods, it would be necessary to rebuild the walls from the foundation, to raise the floor of the church considerably, and to new model the whole of the inside of it; which works, according to the simplest plan, and by the most frugal estimate, an attested copy whereof has been laid before this honourable House, and another copy before the commissioners of imprest accounts, will require the expenditure of about 2900l.; that the inhabitants of this parish, who are all in the humble situation of traders and shop-keepers, have it not in their power on their own means to attempt this important undertaking; that in the session of 1783 this honourable House, in consideration of these matters, of which the fullest proofs were laid before them, were pleased to grant the petitioners an aid of 500l. for the purpose of rebuilding this parochial church, which sum has been expended accordingly, an account of which expenditure, as required by law, has been submitted to the inspection of the commissioners of imprest accounts, who have been pleased to honour it with their approbation, to whose report the petitioners refer; that notwithstanding the most guarded and thrifty application of this parliamentary aid, by far the most considerable part of this work is still to be executed, and this ancient place of worship is at present in such a state as to threaten much danger to that part of the cathedral which is adjoining to it, and to the lives of the neighbours and numerous passengers; and therefore praying farther aid to

enable them to carry into execution a work of such public utility, and which the petitioners presume to hope will prove highly conducive to the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of this populous but poor parish.

The House went into a committee on the bill for amending, widening and repairing roads in the county of Dublin, Mr. Hayes in the chair.

Mr GARDINER said that last session he brought in a bill for erecting turnpikes on the different roads leading to this city. To this bill several objections had been made by different gentlemen. He begged leave, however, to inform the committee, that the bill now before them had no such tendency—It was an exact transcript (say only two new circumstances) of a bill which passed both houses of parliament last session; and which would have received the royal assent but for the sudden prorogation. The new circumstances in this bill were, to empower a very worthy member of this House to grant ground for building a new gaol; and the other was that the gaol should be supplied with water from the grand canal; and for this indulgence, there was a clause that allowed the canal company some small compensation.—He likewise said, that by this bill no new powers are given to grand juries for the county, for assettinents.

Mr. GRIFFITH observed to the House, that last session a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the gaols and public prisons, and to report the same; that in the course of this enquiry, several glaring abuses in the management of prisons had appeared to the committee; that the committee had come to resolutions in order to found a bill for reforming those abuses, which bill he had the honour to bring in; it was read a first time, and was ordered to be printed; but from the sudden prorogation, it fell to the ground: He would therefore now move for leave to bring in a bill for amending and more effectually carrying into force the several laws now in being for regulating public gaols and prisons.

Leave was given, and Mr. Griffith and Mr. Holmes were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1786.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said it was with some reluctance he was obliged to observe upon the indecent deportment of persons whom the indulgence of the House had admitted into the gallery—During the time that the speaker and the members were at prayers, those persons remained lolling on their seats, totally inattentive to

that sacred duty. However, as he did not suppose such neglect arose from any irreverent disrespect to religion, he hoped this hint would be sufficient to prevent the like behaviour in time to come.

The committee appointed to take into consideration the Wexford petition brought up their report; that the petitioners had fully proved the allegations of their petition, and were deserving of parliamentary aid.

Mr. CORRY moved that the proper officer should lay before the House an account of all loans and votes of credit, and of the sums raised thereon, the times when the same were raised, the interest paid, and when any of them were discharged, specifying particularly the time when such votes passed, and the particular statutes under which they were raised.

He mentioned that this was easily done, as the journals themselves pointed the mout, and any member who would take the trouble, might make himself master of the whole business; but as this would be attended with trouble to the members, he would wish to have the whole brought into one point of view, that they might be acquainted with the gradual increase or decrease of the national debt; and this he thought very right for gentlemen to be informed of, before they went into a committee of supply.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was very willing that information should be given, but he was afraid the proper officer could not go so largely into it as the honourable member wished; he could point out the sums certainly, but as to the particular votes and statutes, he feared he could not do it; at any rate, it would be a work of time, and if the officer could not prepare the return speedily, he hoped that would be no reason for delaying the committee of supply.

Mr. MASON said he believed there was no officer whose duty it properly was to make out the account in question; but he could point out to the honourable gentleman an officer who was both able and very willing, upon all occasions, to give such information as the honourable gentleman desired—the officer he meant was Mr. James Corry, the clerk of the journals of the House.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said that Mr. Corry, the journal clerk, had displayed very great knowledge and ability on the subject of the national debt; and he said he believed every information that the honourable member wanted was in a pamphlet published by the journal clerk; and referred him to it, as being a very accurate production.

Mr. CORRY replied, that he had seen the pamphlet, and thought the clerk highly commendable for the information he had given; but he believed the right honourable gentleman's gravity would be much offended, and that he would think him very weak

and absurd if he was to argue from a pamphlet. It was that he might have something authentic to argue from, that he wished the return. He was himself tolerably master of the subject. He thought also, if the return could not be got speedily, it would be a good ground for delaying the supplies; but this he did not believe would be the case.

The SECRETARY OF STATE answered, that he was very far from imputing any thing absurd or weak to the honourable member; nor would he wish to have such an imputation cast on him; but that pamphlet referred to the particulars he wanted to know; and it was on account of these references that he recommended it, and not that the pamphlet itself would be sufficient to argue from.

Captain T. BURGH said there was not an officer in the kingdom that could make it out in one month, and when made out, it would be as large as a family bible.

The question being put, the motion passed unanimously.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE presented a bill to prevent the practice of fraudulently buying and selling of light gold coin in this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. HARTLEY presented a bill to explain and amend an act passed in this kingdom in the eighth year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, entitled an act for the better payment of inland bills of exchange, and making promissory notes more obligatory; which was received and read the first time.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON presented a petition of the freeholders of the county of Roscommon, convened by the high sheriff, setting forth that after the most mutual deliberation the petitioners are decidedly of opinion that the bill for the better regulation of the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, if passed into a law, would be injurious to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, inimical to the liberty, and subversive of the constitution of this country; that no power whatever has or ought to have a right or authority to make laws to bind the people of this kingdom, save the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; and that any act or adjustment containing a covenant that the parliament of Ireland shall adopt or enact laws which shall be passed by the legislature of another country, would be subversive of the independence of the legislature of Ireland, and would, in substance, introduce the dominion of another power by the means of our own parliament; that any agreement to dispose of or alienate for ever any part of the revenues of this kingdom, is inconsistent with the temporary power intrusted to their representatives by the people, and directly militates against the constitution; that the said bill is in direct opposition to the above principles; and therefore supplicating that the said bill may never be permitted to be

again brought forward, and that no other bill, contradicting the above principles, may ever be suffered to pass into a law.

Mr. **WARBURTON** presented a petition of the minister and the English inhabitants of the town of Portarlinton, in the Queen's County, setting forth that soon after the happy revolution of 1688, King William, of glorious memory, granted the said town, and certain lands in the neighbourhood of it, to the then Earl of Galway; and that the said earl caused an English and a French chapel to be built in the said town, and endowed each of them with a stipend of 40*l.* a-piece, to be paid yearly out of the said lands, that were set for lives renewable for ever, and the fines for renewals were directed to be applied to the repairs of the said chapels; and that then the town was chiefly inhabited by French refugees, and a large place of worship was built for their use, and the English chapel was calculated for the then small number of English protestants; but now the English congregation is become so numerous that the English chapel cannot hold half the number of those whose duty it is to attend there; that the fund for repairs is for the present exhausted, as a fine for a renewal has not been paid these many years, inasmuch that the petitioners were obliged to have recourse to voluntary subscriptions many months ago to keep the roof staunch; that the parish church is too great a distance from the said town for the inhabitants to attend there, and a proper place of worship is particularly wanted where so many children of the first families in the kingdom are educated; and therefore praying for assistance to enable them to repair the present chapel, or to build a new one.

Mr. **NEVILLE** moved for leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of landed property and encouragement of manufactures, by allowing persons under settlement to set leases for lives, renewable for ever, at the full improved rent, of certain quantities of ground for building in market towns, and on the banks of canals and navigable rivers.

Mr. **CHARLES O'NEIL** said, he never had heard the title of any bill worded in such a vague manner; and as he certainly would oppose it, if it came before the House, he thought he might as well do so now, which he did upon the principle of its interfering with such a great number of family settlements; because the quantity of ground was not defined; because the law had not been very accurate in deciding what was, or what was not a navigable river; and because any gentleman whose land might be favourably situated for carrying on manufactures, might easily obtain a private act of parliament to set aside any family settlement which could interfere with the establishment thereof.

Mr. **GRIFFITH** said the principle of the bill had his most hearty concurrence, and he doubted not but proper care would

be taken to render it unexceptionable, by limiting the quantity of ground which might be set under it. Some such bill he was certain was necessary, and therefore he hoped it would be introduced.

Mr. TOLER said he should consider the bill in no other light than as useful to the public, by encouraging population and commerce; that there were many parts of this kingdom waste for want of a power of setting such leases, which were well adapted for manufacture.

He advised Mr. Neville not to be dismayed at the honourable gentleman's opposition, as the most learned and capable men in the nation were ready to lend him assistance.

Mr. NEVILLE said the utmost care should be taken to limit the quantity of land, so that it might not exceed the reasonable purpose of building for manufacturers; also, that the inheritance should not be injured by its being set for any thing less than the full improved rent, and that the takers should be obliged to lay out a reasonable sum in building. He said objections had been made to the title of the bill, which was not indeed couched in law terms, but in the plainest language of common sense; and as to what the learned gentleman had said, of interfering with settlements, he asked, what injury had been done by a bill exactly similar, which enables persons under settlement to set ground to the quantity of five acres for bleach-greens; or another which enables them to make long leases to Roman catholics? He had been induced to undertake this business, he said, from observing that some of the very best situations in the kingdom, for trade and manufactures, are totally desolate, because the possessors are tied up and shackled by family settlements.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, and Mr. Neville, Mr. Griffith, the Solicitor General, and Mr. Serjeant Toler, were appointed a committee to prepare the same.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1786.

Mr. ALCOCK presented a petition of the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of the city of Waterford, under their common seal, setting forth that the city of Waterford is large and populous, and well situated for trade and commerce, and that the only communication between the said city and the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, unless by Carrick-on-Suir, which is near fifteen miles from Waterford, is by ferries; that the river of Waterford is broad, and at time of high winds dangerous, and often impassible, by which a great interruption is occasioned to travellers, and to commercial intercourse in general, and a particular obstruction to the punctual

receiving of letters by the Dublin mail; that the petitioners apprehend that the building a bridge over the river Suir at Waterford, would remedy these inconveniencies, promote agriculture, trade and commerce, and add to the beauty and enlargement of the said city, and by uniting the provinces of Leinster and Munster, be of public utility; and that such a measure is clearly practicable, and a sum sufficient for the purposes aforesaid can in the petitioners opinion easily be raised, as several have declared themselves ready to advance the money for the said purpose as soon as commissioners shall be enabled by act of parliament to build the said bridge, and borrow money on the security of the tolls thereof; that the expence of passing said bridge would not amount to that of the conveyance by ferries, as a reduction of the present rates in some instances it is intended should be made, and yet sufficient it is imagined would remain to pay the interest of the money borrowed, and the expences of repairing and lighting said bridge, and collecting the tolls thereon; and it is the wish of the petitioners that at the expiration of fifty years the said bridge should be free from toll, provided that within that time the subscribers to the said bridge shall have received their principal and interest; and therefore praying that leave may be given to bring in a bill for building a bridge over the river Suir at Waterford, as therein before is mentioned, or in such other manner as to the House shall seem meet,

Mr. HARTLEY presented a petition of the holy trinity guild of merchants of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, setting forth that the petitioners, in consequence of the appeal of the ostensible minister of this country to the people, for their opinion of a bill introduced into the House of Commons in the last session of parliament, entitled, "A bill for effectuating an "intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland "on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit "of both kingdoms," feel themselves peculiarly called upon, as a great trading corporation, to declare their sentiments thereon; that the petitioners are firmly of opinion that the system laid down in the said bill is not consonant to the title thereof, as its principle is not equitable, therefore ought not to be permanent, and if passed into law, would expose the trade, manufactures and commerce of this country (whose circumstances materially differ from those of Great Britain) to such regulations as the policy of that kingdom may at any time adopt, and surrender the essence of that constitution the people have been so long endeavouring to recover, and which they have so recently accomplished; that the petitioners, though deeply interested in whatever may tend to encourage and extend the trade, manufactures and commerce of their country, would not however hold themselves justified to posterity, were they in any instance, or at any time, to assent to

measures that might impair the constitution thereof, the unalienable inheritance of every Irishman; that the petitioners beg leave to remark, and with all due deference to impress it on the minds of the House, that as trade and commerce are always fluctuating, so ought the regulation thereof; but should unhappily this bill be adopted, it would put it totally out of the power of this country to make any future alteration, however advantageous or necessary; that they are, for these reasons, with many others, decidedly of opinion that the said bill, or any other similar thereto, is and would be inadequate to the purposes speciously held out thereby; and they trust so disgraceful, so dangerous a system, will never meet the countenance or support of the representatives of the people; and relying therefore on the virtue and patriotism of the House, the petitioners pray that the constitution of this country may be maintained inviolate, and the trade, manufactures and commerce thereof preserved from the interference or controul of any foreign legislature.

Mr. STEWART said he had a petition to present from the grand jury of the county of Tyrone, against that clause in the revenue bill, which directs judges of assize to *nil* every presentment in any county where the grand jury should refuse or neglect to levy the fines and penalties imposed for private and clandestine stills. This clause, he observed, had given much discontent to the grand juries throughout the kingdom, particularly on the northwest circuit; he therefore hoped a day would be appointed to take this subject into consideration, and mentioned Tuesday next.

Mr. BERESFORD desired to know in what manner the honourable gentleman wished to have the subject debated; the usual, and in his opinion, the proper time was, when the great revenue bill came before the House.

Mr. STEWART said, that would be to delay the redress of the grievance complained of too long, and to subject the different counties at the ensuing spring assizes to a repetition of the inconveniencies they had suffered at the last autumn assizes; his intention therefore was to bring in a bill immediately to repeal that clause in the great revenue bill.

Mr. MONTGOMERY (of Cavan) joined Mr. Stewart in the same argument and opinion.

Mr. BERESFORD said it would be novel indeed to introduce such a bill. If the gentlemen feared that the revenue bill would be too long delayed, he would assure them, that to accommodate them as much as possible, he would introduce the revenue bill in the course of a fortnight, or even less; but whether the clause complained of was improper or not was the very thing in ques-

tion, and would best be understood when the bill was before the House.

The Hon. DENNIS BROWNE said that in the county to which he belonged, every thing was in a state of the utmost confusion, by stopping the presentments until fines to the amount of 1200*l.* should be provided for.

Mr. MASON observed, that so large a sum being due in fines, served only to prove that too many private stills were encouraged in his county, and that the landed people took too little care to suppress them. He thought, therefore, this an argument in favour of the clause.

Mr. CARRY, after objecting to some of the statements in the public accounts, moved, that the proper officer do lay before the House, the particulars of the expences under the following heads,

Incidents in the civil bill list	-	20,000 <i>l.</i>
Concordatum	- - -	5,000 <i>l.</i>
Military contingencies	- - -	3,000 <i>l.</i>
Barracks	- - -	14,000 <i>l.</i>
Exceedings of concordatum, barracks, and military contingencies	} 80,000 <i>l.</i>	
Incidents in the revenue	- - -	60,000 <i>l.</i>
Exceedings of salaries, gratuities, and pensions.		19,000 <i>l.</i>

They were ordered accordingly.

He also moved, that yesterday's order for the account of stamp duties on newspapers, be discharged, that he might move it in another form.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE moved for leave to bring in a bill to digest and consolidate into one law all the statutes (nine in number) relative to the paving, lighting and cleansing the city of Dublin.

He observed that the multiplicity of statutes both in England and Ireland, frequently several contradictory of each other, on one and the same subject, made it impossible for the people to know what was or was not law, what was their right or what were their wrongs. In order therefore to render plain a subject in which all the inhabitants of this great city were concerned, he had undertaken the present task, and would on Monday next, with leave of the House, introduce his bill.

Leave was given, and Sir John Blaquiere, the Hon. Richard Hutchinson, and Lord Luttrell were ordered to prepare the same.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said, he would be glad of the assistance of some of the city members, not that there was any thing offensive in his bill, but that there was a great deal new.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had observed several applications already made to parliament for aids to different undertakings. He was extremely sorry the circumstances of the nation would not enable the House to grant them all; but as they were not, he thought it unfair to cherish hopes in people of receiving assistance, which parliament, with a due regard to the nation's good, could not grant. Therefore, at once to put an end to such expectations, he found himself compelled to resolve the resolution of last year, viz.

“That no money be granted this session of parliament for any pier, harbour, quay, canal, navigation, colliery, road, bridge, mill work, nor for building or rebuilding, or repairing any particular church or cathedral, or for any hospital or charity which has not usually and regularly received parliamentary support, nor to any individual manufacturer or company of manufacturers, nor in consideration of any buildings made, or to be made by any manufacturer or set of manufacturers, other than for the fisheries, unless where separate and distinct revenues are or shall be provided and appropriated thereto.”

Last year, he said, 95,000*l.* had been voted as aid to different undertakings, and to be distributed in premiums on different manufactures. This year he would not say what sum the nation might be able to give, but he considered that whatever that sum might be, it ought to be applied to the same objects as last year. His intention was not to prevent the House from cherishing such manufactures, &c. as were then deemed objects of regard, but to prevent that disgraceful scene called the scramble.

Mr. HARTLEY remarked, that this was a sweeping clause indeed; that the last session 500*l.* had been granted for rebuilding the church of St. Nicholas without, and though it was expended with economy, it had extended to no more than the foundation. In so very poor a parish the grant would be lost, if the bounty of parliament did not contribute to the farther erection of the building; he therefore wished to know if any money was to be granted this session for the improvement of churches.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied, that 500*l.* had been voted last session to the first fruits, of the expenditure of which he confessed himself totally ignorant.

Mr. CORRY said he hoped the right honourable gentleman would not force the House into this resolution on the sudden. It was taking too great a compass, and made him wish to be informed if any estimate had been prepared of the sums intended to be granted for national purposes.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER declared his entire conformity to the plan of last session; the state of the nation could

not admit of any profusion of public money, and the plan of government was that of a general retrenchment.

Mr. BROWNLOW said he was happy to hear such expressions fall from the minister of finance, as an alleviation of the public burdens must consequently follow, if this system should be adhered to.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he could not approve of the motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It went to tie up the hands of parliament against the encouragement of great national objects, and struck in particular at that important work, the grand canal, which might be perfected, to the great emolument of the nation, for the sum of 7000*l*. The completion of which grand object would repay its expences twenty-fold. Could any body deny the utility and wisdom of such measures as should encourage the product, manufactures and inland navigation of every country? Here he quoted from the late work of Mr. Sinclair, who proved, that it would be more for the advantage of a country to apply the redundancy of the revenue to its improvement, than to pay off its national debt. He adverted to the state of the Irish collieries, and averred that if the inland navigation was completed, the collieries of Lough Allen alone would be sufficient to supply the fuel of the kingdom.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he joined the honourable gentleman in praise of the advantages which might be gained by the inland navigation, and hoped the period was not distant when a completion of that object would turn out a great benefit to the country.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER answered, that the tax in favour of the inland navigation would be continued, and would annually produce the sum of 7000*l*.

The question on the resolution being put, it passed in the affirmative.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL presented a petition of the incorporated society in Dublin, for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland, under their common seal, setting forth that the petitioners find, with gratitude, the society recommended from the throne by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, on the opening of the present session of parliament; and therefore praying that the House will take the present state of the protestant charter schools into mature consideration, and grant the petitioners such public aid as will enable them to support the several schools and nurseries, upon a sure and permanent footing, from this to another session of parliament.

Mr. HOLMES requested the attention of the House to a matter of some importance. He had, he said, last session, brought in a

bill for amending the police, and for the better administration of justice in the county of Tipperary. Though the bill passed both houses, yet on account of the sudden prorogation, it lost the efficacy of a law. He found it necessary this session to make some alterations in the title. He, therefore, should move for leave to bring in a bill to enable the grand jury of the county of Tipperary to grant money for erecting bridewells in the said county, and for other purposes.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL mentioned Cashel as a proper place to erect a bridewell in. There were, he said, three in the county of Limerick, at proper distances, and all found efficacious.

Mr. CONYNGHAM acquainted the House that he had received letters from Cork, by which he was informed of frauds committed in obtaining bounties on the exportation of Irish herrings.

The SECRETARY of STATE said he doubted the intelligence to be founded in truth, and wished for evidence on the occasion.

Mr. CONYNGHAM said that the information came from the Cork committee of merchants.

He then moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the frauds committed in obtaining bounties on the exportation of Irish herrings.

FRIDAY JANUARY 27, 1786.

Mr. ALCOCK reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition from the corporation and inhabitants of Waterford, that the petitioners had proved their allegations; and moved, that pursuant to the prayer of the petitioners, leave might be given to bring in a bill for building a bridge on the river Suir, at Waterford.

Leave was accordingly granted.

The House resolved into a committee on the bill for making, widening, and repairing of public roads in the county of Dublin, and for repealing parts of several acts formerly made for that purpose.

Received the clause for supplying the new intended prison on gallows-hill with water from the grand canal; and read over some more of the bill. After which reported progress, and ordered to sit again to-morrow.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said, on the motion of committal, that he understood the right honourable patron of the bill [Mr. Gar-

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diner] avowed his intention of bringing forward the twice rejected measure of enclosing this city with turnpikes. If so, he gave notice he should give it his hearty opposition.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL.—Though I am not apt to be affected by newspaper paragraphs, yet when a printer, sheltering himself behind a member of this House, represents me in an unfair or ridiculous light, I think myself bound to refute the misrepresentation. Upon a bill being introduced a few days since, for enabling persons under settlement to make leases of lives, renewable for ever, of lands in market towns, for the purposes of building for manufacturers, and also of lands on the banks of navigable rivers and canals for the same purpose, some conversation took place between an honourable gentleman [Mr. Toler] and me, whereupon the printer of the Freeman's Journal, contrary to his usual custom of reporting the speeches of that honourable gentleman, has made a very handsome speech for him, replete with satire and much severity, saying that he, [Mr. Toler] "lamented in pointed terms" that his honourable friend Mr. Neville had presumed to bring "it forward without previously consulting his learned friend, Mr. O'Neil, who had himself set the example of diffidence and modesty by introducing not a few bills the last session, which was his first of sitting in parliament. To be sure some of them had been rejected by the House, but not upon motion for leave to bring them in. However, he advised Mr. Neville not to be dismayed at the honourable gentleman's opposition, as the most learned and capable men in the nation were ready to lend him assistance." Now, Sir, though in the confusion of the debate, and during the many interruptions I experienced, it was impossible for me to hear very accurately whatever was said, yet I take upon me to say that the paper has asserted what is false; for in the last session I brought in but two bills; they both might be written on half a sheet of paper, and both passed this House. I do not mean to make any motion against the printer, but in justification of myself, I think it necessary to give this explanation of the transaction.

Mr. TOLER said he had no recollection of what had passed on the occasion referred to by the honourable gentleman, whom he would call his honourable friend, or did he suppose any other person had thought it worth while. They had, he said, been in the habit of taking liberties with each other, and as he believed neither had any intention of passing the bounds of friendship, he would say, *hanc veniam petimus damusque vicissim*.

Mr. LONGFIELD said he understood that a committee was appointed to inquire into certain frauds respecting fishing bounties, and that in the manner the committee was moved for, a censure on the merchants of Cork was implied, which was ill-founded; and

added, that the merchants of Cork certainly suffered a heavy loss since the high duty was laid upon foreign herrings, as the provision vessels that go from Cork to the West Indies commonly sail in November and December, which is upwards of a month before they can procure the Irish herrings from the north west coast, which was the reason that many cargoes of foreign herrings were brought from the Isle of Man to the West Indies, and there sold as Irish or British.

Mr. CONYNGHAM explained what he had said relative to the business, when he moved for the committee.

Mr. GRIFFITH presented a bill for amending and carrying more effectually into force, the several laws now in being for regulating the public gaols and prisons throughout this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1786.

Lord LUTTRELL presented a petition of John Ormston, James Blair, and Archibald Ormston, setting forth that the petitioners have erected near Lucan, in the county of Dublin, tin-plate, sheet iron, and scythe mills, and have expended thereon upwards of 15,000*l.* sterling; that in their present state these works are equal to any in Great Britain or elsewhere for the same purposes; that the petitioners feel much pleasure in being the first to establish in this Kingdom the manufactures above-mentioned; that the great expence incurred by introducing these manufactures, the opposition given the undertakers by factories abroad sending goods here lowered with intent to defeat the petitioners, tin-plates in particular, from 6*s.* per box down to 5*s.* and other articles in proportion, have altogether operated so much to the disadvantage of the petitioners as to leave them without a prospect of disposing of their manufactures to any profit, while the public have really saved, by petitioners struggles, from 15*l.* to 20*l.* per cent. on the goods purchased since the petitioners began to manufacture; however it will be impossible for the petitioners to proceed, with success or even safety, on these moderate terms, while such a weight lies on them as interest for the first expenditure on the works, machinery, &c. &c. and having risked 30,000*l.* in the undertaking, themselves and families must be involved in many difficulties, perhaps in ruin, unless relieved by the House; that while the petitioners are thus distressed, the country may lose a very valuable manufacture, petitioners having for some time past prevented 10,000*l.* per annum going from this kingdom for the articles of iron manufactures mentioned, which saving will grow

if an export trade encreases; and therefore praying protection, relief, and assistance.

A petition of the Dublin Society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners were by his late Majesty incorporated by the stile and title of the Dublin Society for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, and were encouraged to carry into execution the ends of their said incorporation by his Majesty's bounty of 500*l.* a year; that the petitioners, in pursuance of the purposes of their institution, have for many years past expended the said sum, together with their own private subscriptions, and also several considerable grants from this honourable House, in premiums for the improvement of agriculture in its various branches, and in promoting the introduction and perfection of such arts and manufactures as appeared most advantageous to the commerce and welfare of the people of Ireland; that the petitioners, encouraged by the success that has hitherto attended their endeavours for the public service, and fully satisfied of the generous disposition of the House to further every measure tending to the prosperity of this kingdom, humbly pray for aid.

Mr. FORBES said he had observed with concern that there was so bad an attendance of members, at a period when matters of such great consequence as the examination of the accounts of the public expenditure, the supply proper to be granted to his Majesty, and the taxes to be imposed on the people, were the subjects of consideration. In the committee of ways and means this session, a question must occur of the greatest importance, as a matter of finance, that had ever been agitated in that House—whether the additional taxes of 140,000*l.* imposed last session, should be continued or not? He trusted that the country gentlemen would not forfeit, by their inattention to this great subject, the character they had established in the country by their glorious exertions during the last session. He should, therefore, in order to insure a full attendance, move, that the House be called over on Monday se'nnight, and that the Speaker write letters to the members, requiring their attendance on that day.

Lord LUTTRELL said he could not see the necessity of such a motion. There was not any question so very arduous to be agitated, that required it. He said, if there was any neglect of attendance, it lay on the side of the House which the honourable gentleman usually sat at.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said there was an order for the House to go into a committee of supply on Wednesday next. As to the question intended by the motion of the

honourable gentleman, it could have nothing to do with that committee, as the circumstances of taxation depended on the exigency of the times, and were liable to alteration every year. He must again repeat, that this country had wisely come to a determination not to accumulate the public debt; for no country ought voluntarily so to do, but proportion the revenue to the expences. For his part, if the honourable member could produce any plan for the diminution of the public debt, he would most willingly consent to a reduction of the taxes; but, said he, the system of this year can have no reference to that of any preceding year.

Mr. FORBES, in reply to Lord Luttrell, said that he was astonished at the noble Lord's observation; that there had been no business of importance as yet before the House, when a committee of the whole House had been engaged for these some days past in such a momentous business as the examination of the public accounts.

In answer to what fell from the right honourable baronet [Sir John Parnell] he should observe, that he was happy to perceive that the health and spirits of the right honourable baronet were so perfectly restored, otherwise he would not have wasted so many words on what was merely a motion of course. He was happy to learn from the right honourable baronet, that the taxes he was to prepare for this year were not to have a reference to the taxes of last year. He presumed, from what fell from the right honourable baronet, that new causes and considerations were to be assigned for granting this year 140,000*l.* in addition to the tax of 1783. He had a great curiosity to know what those causes and considerations could be. At a proper time he should be very ready to enter into a discussion on this subject with the right honourable member, and by the keenness which the right honourable baronet now shewed for their discussion, he expected both amusement and information from him.

Mr. BROWNLOW said he wished that an earlier attendance could be enforced, than what could be effected by the motion of his honourable friend. He said that the House should be at all times well attended; and in answer to what had fallen from a noble Lord [Lord Luttrell] in respect to a thin attendance on one side of the House, he must beg leave to observe, that they could not command messengers to summon the attendance of members on any particular question.

Mr. CORRY said he was very glad that the subject of a thin attendance of members was mentioned. The question of supply involved matter of very great magnitude, and required a full attendance; he therefore hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would postpone going into a committee till Monday se'nnight; it

would be necessary to call for several papers before that committee was gone into; and, said he, next Monday is a holiday, the papers cannot be laid on the table till Tuesday, and Wednesday is fixed on for the committee to sit. He said it was impossible for gentlemen to inform themselves sufficiently on the subject in that short space of time; for these several reasons, he hoped the committee of supply would be postponed till Monday se'nnight.

Lord LUTTRELL said he wished that every part of the public business was well attended to.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER declared he by no means wished to hurry the business, though gentlemen must know that the supplies must be paid against a certain day. If on Tuesday next any necessity appeared for postponing going into the committee, he had not the smallest objection; it would be his study to accommodate gentlemen as much as possible; and, alluding to an honourable member [Mr. Corry] he wished that that gentleman had every official information that he could possibly wish for.

Mr. Forbes's motion was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then moved, that the order for the House going into a committee of supply on Wednesday next, be discharged.

It was discharged accordingly; and the question being put for Monday se'nnight, it passed in the affirmative.

Mr. CORRY declared, for his part, he never wished to give trouble to the House by calling for any unnecessary papers, he wanted none but what appeared to him proper on the subject of information. Every member of that House should be well acquainted with the state of the finances and public accounts of the nation; and in reply to what had dropped from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would have no objection to sitting by the side of that right honourable gentleman, but in the present situation of affairs, and under the present administration, it was one of the wishes the most remote from his heart. Having said this, he would now move,

That the proper officers do lay before the House an account of all sums of money issued from the treasury for the last ten years, ending the 1st of January, 1786.

Also a list of such accounts as passed the commissioners of imprest accounts, on account of balances by order or warrant of government, for the last eight years, ending the 1st of January, 1786.

They were ordered accordingly.

Lord NAAS brought up a report from the committee to whom the petition of the Foundling Hospital was referred ; which was ordered to lie on the table.

The House went into a committee on the bill for preventing the buying and selling of gold coin, Mr. Hayes in the chair.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE informed the committee, that this bill was exprestly the same as the one which passed both Houses last session, with this difference, that the Lords had made the penalty 500*l.* and three months imprisonment, for any person who bought twenty light guineas ; which this bill adopted.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL said he thought the fine too high.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he was of opinion, that it would answer much better if guineas were taken, allowing two pence a grain for every grain deficient.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he understood the practice was so in England ; and that the lords of the treasury gave orders to the persons employed in collecting the taxes, to take guineas on them terms.

Mr. HARTLEY said the coin in both countries should have the same standard ; for as the ballance of trade was against us with England, they might refuse taking our guineas in payment, except as bullion.

The clause respecting the fine, was altered to 200*l.*

The House adjourned 'till Tuesday next.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1786.

A petition of Francis, Lord Baron Conyngham, the Right Honourable William Conyngham, Doctor Thomas Ellis, Richard Jones, Alexander Murray and James Glascock, Esqrs. and which said Francis Lord Conyngham is the heir at law, and he and the other petitioners are the only next of kin of Jane Bonnell, otherwise Conyngham, widow, deceased, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the said Jane Bonnell, on the 4th of April, 1745, duly made her will, and after devising several pecuniary and specific legacies, and particularly a sum of 200*l.* to the ministers, church-wardens and vestry-men of St. John's parish, Dublin, to be laid out on some convenient purchase, (the produce of which she directed to be applied towards biading out poor girls of that parish for ever) she devised all the residue and remainder of her estate, real and personal, to her executors, to be by them laid out in some convenient purchase, for the support of clergymens

widows that needed such help, and she left it to her executors to settle it in the best manner they could, having full confidence in their doing it to the best advantage ; and of her said will she appointed Ralph Smyth, Edward Worth, Henry Leslie and Ralph Sampson, Esqrs. her executors, and the said Ralph Sampson proved the said will in the prerogative court ; that all the said executors are long since dead, but the said Ralph Sampson survived the other three, and duly made his will, and thereof appointed his wife, Jane Sampson, his sole executrix, and she is since dead, having before her death duly made her last will, and thereof appointed the petitioners, Richard Jones, Alexander Murray and James Glascock, her executors ; and the said Alexander Murray and James Glascock only proved the said will in the court of prerogative, and have also obtained administration of the goods unadministered of the said Jane Bonnell by the said Ralph Sampson and Jane Sampson, and are now the legal representatives of the said Jane Bonnell, and are entitled to all such part of her personal estate as remains to be administered, to be applied to the uses of her will ; that a part of the personal estate of the said Jane Bonnell consisted of a mortgage for securing the principal sum of 1500*l.* charged upon the manor of Mount Charles, in the county of Donegal, the estate of Major General Conyngham, the ancestor of the petitioners, Lord Conyngham and William Conyngham ; and in order to raise the money due on that mortgage an information was filed in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer on the 10th of October, 1766, in the name of the then Attorney-general of Ireland, at the relation of the minister, churchwardens and vestry-men of the said parish of St. John's, Dublin, on behalf of themselves and divers indigent widows of clergymen, against the Right Honourable Henry, then Viscount and afterwards Earl Conyngham, who was then seized of the mortgaged premises, and in receipt of the rents and profits thereof ; and after various proceedings in said cause, and after several decrees were made and reports were made, it was on the 4th of February, 1778, again referred to the officer to take an account of the personal estate of the said Jane Bonnell, and of her debts and legacies, and what part thereof remained unpaid ; and on the 20th of February, 1778, the officer reported that the said Jane Bonnell died possessed of the said mortgage for 1500*l.* on the estate of the said Lord Conyngham, and that 1000*l.* thereof carried interest at 9*l.* per cent. and the remaining 500*l.* at 8*l.* per cent. and that the sum of 761*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* was due for principal, interest and costs on the 29th of June, 1771 ; and the said officer further reported that the petitioner William, the nephew of Lord Conyngham, and who is now seized and possessed of the said manor of Mount Charles, had deposited with the chief remembrancer, or his deputy, on the 19th of May, 1773, 222*l.* and

the 30th of October following 6500*l.* and on the 22d of November following the further sum of 143*l.* 1*s.* 2½*d.* making in the whole 8868*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* which sum was then admitted by the plaintiffs attorney to be in full for the principal, interest and costs by the said Lord Conyngham; that the said cause coming on to be finally heard on the 25th of February, 1778, the court decreed the several legatees mentioned in the will of the said Jane Bonnell, and reported by the officer, to be paid their several legacies out of the said 8868*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* and then the decree closes these words:

“ And it is also further ordered, adjudged and decreed, that the residue of the said sum of 8868*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* after the payment of the said several legacies, interest and costs, should be laid out in the purchase of lands, according to the several uses, trusts, intents and purposes mentioned and expressed in the will and codicil of the said Jane Bonnell, under the direction of this honourable court, and that either party be and are hereby at liberty to apply to the court in the mean time for such further and other directions as may be necessary, and the plaintiffs may accordingly take up and enrol this decree, with costs, as aforesaid, for the performance whereof the process of this court is from time to time to issue, as in such cases usual.”

That a sum of 5500*l.* or thereabouts, of the said mortgage money still remains in the hands of the chief remembrancer of the said Court of Exchequer; that it appears, from the said will of the said Jane Bonnell, and from the said decree of the said Court of Exchequer, that the residue of the personal estate of the said Jane Bonnell is to be invested in the purchase of lands of inheritance, for the purpose of creating a fund for the relief of the distressed widows of clergymen; and that the said testatrix hath by her said will omitted to appoint any trustees to carry into execution her charitable purposes, save only her personal representatives; and it is humbly conceived that it will be impossible for such personal representatives to carry into execution a trust of lands of inheritance that is to have perpetual continuance; wherefore it becomes necessary to have the aid of parliament for carrying into effect the trusts of the said will, and therefore praying relief.

A petition of Elizabeth Molloy, keeper of the Parliament-house, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the care of the new buildings on the House of Commons side, was devolved on the petitioner during the intervals of parliament since the year 1777, without any provision being made for coals, candles, servants, or any other necessary for the care of it; that the petitioner received the two first sessions after the building was finished 100*l.* each session, but during the intervals of the three last sessions she has received no recompence whatever; that great

alterations are now making, and new stoves constructed to keep the House always aired; and therefore praying that the House will take the same under consideration, and make her such recompence as to them shall seem expedient for the time past, and give orders for her future conduct.

A petition of Paul Le Bas, examiner of the premiums paid for bringing of corn, meal, flower and malt by inland carriage to Dublin, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that in the act passed in the session of parliament 1759, a salary was appointed for the person who discharged the said employment; that since the passing of said act the very great increase of the business makes it necessary to employ clerks to assist therein, the payment of which nearly equals the salary allowed in the said act; that the sum voted by the House is the only allowance the petitioner has to pay these clerks; and therefore praying aid.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE presented a bill for consolidating into one law, extending and rendering more effectual the powers granted by several acts of parliament for paving, cleansing and lighting the city of Dublin, and for other purposes respecting the same; for repealing the several acts and clauses of acts therein mentioned, and for the more effectually paving, cleansing and lighting the squares, streets, lanes, courts, alleys, quays, bridges, and other places within the limits of the circular or environing road, whether within the county of Dublin, or within the city and county of the city of Dublin, and the liberties thereof (except such streets and other places as are therein excepted) and for making sewers, and erecting fountains and conduits for the use of the poor, and for preventing and removing annoyances, obstructions and nuisances within the same.

He said, as this bill not only affects the public at large, but every person individually, I shall ask the indulgence of the House while I enter into a short explanation of its principle and intent. I take this opportunity in a full House, from having observed that committees are not very closely attended; for as I mean nothing but what is fair, and what I trust will prove acceptable not to parliament only, but to the public at large, I wish to have it as generally understood as possible.

I claim no merit in this business, but so much as falls to the share of every private gentleman who engages fairly in any undertaking for the benefit of the public, and pursues it diligently to the best of his ability. The acts which I have attempted to digest and consolidate are nine; in whatever point I may have failed, I shall hope for the aid of the many learned gentlemen I see around me; and I beg leave to say, that it would prove of infinite advantage to the nation, if lawyers would lend a little attention to that enormous grievance, the multiplicity of our statutes. O

many subjects there are great numbers of laws, often contradictory and always intricate, so that it becomes very difficult for a man of plain sense to know at all times whether he is acting in conformity to law or not.

In the bill I have now the honour to present, tho' there is much new matter, there is nothing offensive; nothing that trenches upon the rights of any person or persons, nor shall there ever be in any bill that I shall bring forward. It levies no new tax, nor by my consent shall it. Nay, it is my intention to restore to the city a right they formerly possessed, that of cleaning the streets. In this, and every other part, it is my wish to make the bill so acceptable, that I expect the aid and concurrence of the city representatives.

I have another object, which is to include all places within the circular-road in the regulations which this bill proposes to establish; but it will not be supposed that this can be effected without a continuance of the aids which grand juries have usually granted for those places. If such aids shall in future be granted, I can safely promise that the commissioners will pave and light the approaches to this metropolis, as far as the circular-road, and also make convenient and handsome raised footways on each side of the roads for that extent.

I also propose to extend the use of broad wheels for seven miles round Dublin, and that all gentlemen and farmers shall be obliged to have soles of four inches to their carts and cars; as also that they shall be numbered, and the name of the owner painted on each, for which a licence shall be taken out at the Foundling Hospital, at half a crown expence per annum. This is so small a sum that it cannot be called a tax, and yet it will raise no less than 500*l.* a year for that most excellent charity. I am particularly desirous of introducing the use of broad wheels amongst gentlemen and farmers, because I am convinced that the good condition of our streets is owing to the poor labouring carters being under it already.

Another regulation should be, the doubling of the fine for neglect of sweeping before our doors. As it stands, it has no operation; most of our servants would risque the payment of a shilling, rather than take the trouble of sweeping the foot passage. I would also wish to have two of our officers made constables *ex officio*, to levy the fines.

Now, Sir, one word as to the paying board itself. The House will recollect the constitution of this little board, upon which the public have been so liberal in encomium. It consists of almost an equal number of directors and commissioners. The directors attend as often as they can; the commissioners must attend to entitle them to payment; and indeed they have attended every day. They were at first appointed to superintend the pavement,

only; the lighting has since been added, and how they have acted the public is witness. I am not the meritorious man, 'tis to the commissioners you owe the brilliant appearance of your city. It was proposed at first, that they should only attempt to light in the improved manner two or three streets every year, till in time the whole city should be lighted, but in less than four months they had compleated the principal streets of the whole city, and the saving was astonishing.

I assure the House that I am not stimulated by friendship to speak thus of the commissioners, I only wish to render them justice. The dangerous combination that for a while disturbed the city, was overcome by their assiduity. I acknowledge that gentlemen in administration gave every aid, and to their exertions I attribute that many more lives were not lost.

I shall now state to the House a comparison of the expences of paving, cleansing and lighting between the years 1782 and 1785; and first in the article of paving:

In 1785 there were paved 398,000 square yards, at 4d. a yard, which makes	—	—	£. 6630
In 1782 it cost 7½d. a yard, which came to	—	—	12440

So the saving in that article is	—	—	5810
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The cost of cleansing in 1782 was	—	—	3035
in 1785 but	—	—	2201

The saving in that article is	—	—	£. 834
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In the article of lighting, in the year 1782 there were in the city of Dublin but 2247 lamps, there are now 1066; the former expence was 11. 12s. a lamp—the present is but 14s. 9d.—The number of lamps at present would cost for lighting, at the former charge, the sum of

—	—	—	£. 17332
At the present expence they cost but	—	—	7800

Saving in this article	—	—	9532
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So the savings in the three articles, of paving, cleansing and lighting, amount to the sum of

—	—	—	£. 16105
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Not for one year only, but annually for ever.

The House must see that men who labour so effectually for the public are entitled to reward; the only reward I desire for them, and which I shall not move myself, but hope the House will think just, is, that they may be enabled to pursue their object with increasing assiduity, and when the bill comes before the committee, and that part is read where the number of days they

are to sit is to be stated, that instead of filling up the blank with the word three, the word six may be inserted.

Mr. STEWART (of the county of Donegal) said he rose to make a motion relative to that part of the revenue bill which directs the judges of assize to nil all presentments where the grand juries refuse to present the penalties on private stills. He said when he had presented the petition of the grand jury of the county Tyrone, gentlemen in office had desired him to defer the subject until the great revenue bill should come before the House; but, consistent with his intention of remedying the evil complained of before the next assizes, it was impossible for him to consent to that delay, as the length of time requisite to the passing of the great revenue bill would carry the House at least to the time of the assizes commencing, if not till they were over, and the country would again experience the inconvenience it had suffered in the last assizes. He said that he believed there were many gentlemen in the House who had not considered, or perhaps read the clauses complained of. For their information he desired they might be read by the clerk at the table.

They were accordingly read, and are to this effect:—"That whenever a private still be discovered, and legally condemned before the chief commissioners of his Majesty's revenue, if in Dublin, or the sub-commissioners for the district, if in any other part of the kingdom, that then the said chief or sub commissioners, as the case may be, shall certify the same, and the grand jury of the district shall present a fine of 20*l.* for each still so condemned, to be raised and levied on the inhabitants of the town-land or parish, as the case may happen, where such still shall be found; and in case the said grand jury shall neglect to present the same, that then it shall not be lawful for the going judge of assize to fiat any presentment of said grand jury for roads, bridges, or other public works."

Mr. STEWART.—It appears that the grand juries are directed to find presentments without enquiry, and to levy great sums of money upon the public. I beg gentlemen will recollect the oath of a grand juror; he swears that he will diligently enquire; and if so, to compel him to present without enquiry, is in my mind severe, unjust and unconstitutional; it is degrading to the office of a grand juror, for surely nothing can be more so than to make him subservient to sub-commissioners. The grand jury of the county of Tyrone put the matter in a fair light—in their petition they say, "they feel the utmost concern at being commanded by the law to act implicitly under the sub-commissioners certificate, which they deem incompatible with their oaths, and are therefore determined rather to submit to the severity of seeing their roads, bridges and other public works run to ruin, than act in a

manner inconsistent with that sacred obligation." Yet there is not amongst them a man who has not the strongest abhorrence of the clandestine distillery, and would not exert his utmost influence to suppress it.

At the last assizes of the county of Tyrone, there were, amongst several others, five fines together brought before the grand jury to be presented; a gentleman of character and property went before the jury, and offered to prove that they were obtained by a collusion between the private distiller and the revenue officer. The grand jury reported the matter in court, and requested the judge would swear the gentleman as to the fact, but the judge declined it, alledging that he had no power to do so, and withal told them that they must find the presentment for these fines. It was impossible with this evidence before them, that the grand jury, consistent with their oath, could find these presentments, and the consequence was, that the judge was obliged to nil every other presentment they had made. Now I ask, is there a gentleman in this House who can think this grand jury acted wrong, or who does not feel for the inconveniencies the country suffers from their conscientious adherence to their oath?

Before I make a motion, I wish to know if any gentleman in office has thought of a remedy for this grievance? If they have I am willing to leave the subject in their hands.

Mr. BERESFORD.—The honourable gentleman desires to know whether we have any remedy to propose for that part of the late revenue act of which he complains. I speak for myself, and I believe I may speak for all the gentlemen at the revenue board, that we have no view in the clauses that have been read, but the due collection of the revenue; and if any thing is proposed that can answer as effectually, we will with the greatest readiness and pleasure adopt it; but I never will recede from the principle of those clauses, which is to make it the interest of the inhabitants of every neighbourhood to expel private stills from amongst them. The honourable gentleman may be assured that the revenue bill will be brought on as soon as possible, and then he will be at liberty to offer any remedy.

Mr. STEWART.—As the revenue bill cannot, I am persuaded, be brought in early enough to prevent the repetition of the inconveniencies some parts of the country have already experienced, I will move you, Sir,

"That leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal such parts of the revenue bill as make it unlawful for a judge to fiat the presentments of a grand jury that may neglect to present any fine for private stills."

Mr. BERESFORD.—Although I have declared myself ready to concur with the honourable gentleman in any plan which,

reserving the principle of the present act and a due regard to the collection of the revenue, shall appear likely to remove the complaints now made, yet I never can agree to the motion now made. I think it improper and unnecessary, and I believe it is unprecedented; it takes for granted that the principle of the clause is a good principle, and ought to be repealed—a point I never will give up. I need not state the necessity of coercive laws to prevent private distilling; every one knows how destructive that practice is to the fair trader, to manufacture, to agriculture, to commerce, and to the revenue of the kingdom; for remedy of these evils, the clause was suggested by an honourable gentleman, in the revenue line, and has been found to produce very good effects. The idea of such a clause had indeed been often mentioned to the commissioners before, but they waited till some member, unconnected with the revenue, should perceive the necessity of such a regulation, and propose it in parliament.—At first juries did not think the law compulsory (though I always thought it was) and therefore neglected to present, but in the next session the House thought proper to alter and amend the law into its present form, and now there is good reason to believe it will produce every effect that was intended.

The honourable gentleman thinks the clause an infringement on the rights and constitution of grand juries. I beg he will consider, whether this ancient constitution allowed them to raise money on the subject at all or no, and he will find, that until the revolution they never possessed it, and that almost immediately after the revolution, that is, in the seventh year of the reign of William III. a law was passed, mandatory on grand juries, to present sums of money in the case of robberies, &c.—[See 7 William 3, chap. 24.]

The present law cannot therefore be deemed unconstitutional as to grand juries, nor an innovation on their rights.

But the 7th William III. chap. 24, is not the only law mandatory upon grand juries. In the 8th Ann. chap. 3, they are compelled to present for the stipend allowed to popish priests conforming to the church of England. In the 17th Geo. II. chap. 10, they are compelled to present for the rewards allowed to persons for destroying otters, martins, and other vermin. In the 5th Geo. II. chap. 20, they are required to present for county infirmaries. In another act they are compelled to present for building gaols, and in another for indemnifying persons who shall prosecute such rioters as interrupt the transportation of corn from one place to another; and in this case the judge is directed to refuse his fiat to their other presentments, if they neglect to comply with the law.

The honourable gentleman complains, that grand juries are obliged to present without enquiry, and contrary to their oath.—[Here Mr. Beresford read the oath.]—From the oath it appears that they are well and diligently to enquire concerning all things

given them in charge, and without fear or favour present all things presentable, and no other. No v what says the revenue law?—why, that certain matters shall be given them in charge, and that they shall present according to the law of the land. Who can think it a hardship to comply with what he is bound to do by his oath?

The honourable gentleman has mentioned some case which happened in the county of Tyrone. It does not appear that the gentleman he spoke of was sworn, and if he had, it would only prove that the town-land wherein the private distiller who entered into a collusion with a revenue officer, carried on his trade ought to be mulcted for not discovering that distiller. I believe, indeed, that collusion very often exists; but that collusion is between the officer and the smuggler, and against the crown.

If, however, gentlemen will shew how the intention of the law can be effectually carried into execution in any other manner, I shall have no objection to the alteration; and if so, I think the revenue bill may be brought forward time enough to prevent the inconveniencies gentlemen complain of.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE said he wished for an alteration in the law. No less than 1200*l.* were demanded as fines in the county he represented. He thought, however, the revenue bill the place to correct this evil, and was of opinion that bill might be brought forward time enough to prevent any inconveniencies at the ensuing assizes.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I would most cheerfully co-operate with his Majesty's commissioners in suppressing private stills, which I look upon to be the bane of industry, of trade and manufactures, and the destruction of every modest and religious principle amongst the lower class of our countrymen. I am sure this nation never can flourish till the propensity to drunkenness is abated—the means rendered more difficult. When this bill was introduced last session, every inconvenience that has since arisen was foreseen and foretold, yet gentlemen now say, it will be time enough to discuss it when the revenue bill comes in—but shall we in the mean time suffer all our public works to go to ruin?

Notwithstanding the many acts quoted by the right honourable gentleman, the law is, in my opinion, directly repugnant to the oath of a grand juror, and if any act seems to countenance the practice of compelling juries, that act should be rather altered than strengthened by a new precedent, for even in criminal cases grand juries possess a deliberative power.

I have the highest opinion of the gentlemen who now compose the revenue board, and believe they would wish to act as much as possible agreeable to their fellow subjects, yet I cannot perceive

the propriety of deferring this question to be discussed in the revenue bill.

Mr. MONTGOMERY (of Cavan) said he never had heard such an idea as that of fining a county for any thing less than robbery or murder—He hoped private distilling was not a crime of so black a dye, and he thought the proper way to prevent it would be by an act for lowering the duty.

Mr. O'HARA.—The laws to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded, bear much less analogy to revenue matters than he seems to think, and as to that which regards robberies, there is a fair trial whether the party was robbed or not, and what sum he lost; and after all I am of opinion the grand jury may refuse to present for him if they are not perfectly satisfied of the fact. But besides the objections now made against the revenue law, there are many others which shew the necessity of bringing in the bill proposed.

Mr. MOLYNEUX said that when the clause was before the House last year, it then met his approbation—it met his approbation now—the morals of the people were hurt by the too frequent use of whiskey. He said the delicacy of a grand jury must yield to the positive act of parliament; every gentleman who served on grand juries knew that jobs were carried there as well as in that House.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said that both sides of the House agreed in the necessity of preventing private distillery; gentlemen only differed in the mode—the motion went to prevent a discussion of the clause—it was a motion of determination in itself—it went to run a race with another bill, where the evil complained of might possibly be redressed. There was another objection he had to the motion, which was that it destroyed one principle without substituting another. It was the duty and wish of gentlemen in office to attend to every complaint, and if possible to provide a remedy; but this motion was irregular and ineffectual.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I apprehend some mistake has arisen. The object of bringing in the bill is to give opportunity for discussing the subject, but if gentlemen will promise that no more informations shall go forward till after the passing of the great revenue bill, we on this side are satisfied to debate the merits of the question when that bill comes before the House.

Mr. MASON.—It would, in my opinion, be very improper for gentlemen in office to pledge themselves not to enforce the existing law; but thus far I am ready to go:—If when the revenue bill comes before the House, the clause objected to shall be struck

out, backed with the opinion of this House, I think gentlemen in office may suspend the operation of the clause until the revenue bill, so altered, shall pass into a law. When I say this, I mean to be understood, that we never will desert the principle of levying the fine on the town-lands, but if any other mode can be suggested, without injury to the revenue, gentlemen in office, I am confident, will have no objection.

Mr. BERESFORD.—I would not have any gentleman go away with an opinion that I will relinquish the clause in question, if one as effectual to the full is not substituted; all that I have said is, that the utmost dispatch shall be given to the revenue bill, in order to bring the matter speedily before the House. It is confessed on all hands that the private distillery is the bane of the manufacturer, the trader, and the landed gentleman, though some of them seem to think otherwise. An honourable friend of mine proposes to destroy the private distillery by lowering the excise on spirits; should a bill to that effect be brought in, it ought to be entitled “a bill for destroying the morals of the people.” The price of home-made spirits ought always to be kept as high as possible, provided it did not amount to the price of foreign spirits. A little under the price of foreign spirits, but at the same time as high as may be, so as to give our own produce a preference, should be the rule.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—Gentlemen on both sides seem to agree in principle; what little difference there is as to mode may be settled when the subject is discussed, and the bill now moved will give that opportunity. Gentlemen on the other side seem to wish to take advantage of this disposition of the House to press forward the revenue bill, which contains many clauses that I hope never will be enacted.

Mr. HOLMES urged the necessity of keeping up the price of spirits, to avoid the total ruin of every religious and moral principle among the people.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE gave his assent to the last honourable gentleman's reasoning, and advised to rely upon the candour and integrity of the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue.

Mr. MOORE said he was of opinion that the acts quoted by Mr. Beresford should rather be altered than have any authority in forming a precedent.

Mr. BERESFORD said he at the present knew no method which could be equally effectual with that complained of by the honourable gentleman, and all that had been said served only to prove the necessity of it, and the difference of opinion on the subject. Gentlemen thought juries not right in finding presentments under the law; he thought them not only justifiable, but

absolutely bound by their oath to present whatever the law made presentable whenever it should be given them in charge.

As to what had been said of pressing forward the revenue bill, he supposed it was mere matter of course for gentlemen to speak in that kind of stile when they rose, and that they thought proper to throw as much dirt as possible upon men in office; a circumstance that had no weight with him, being conscious that he was as little capable as the person who used such language of acting improperly.

Mr. BROOKE said he was of opinion that the clause was injurious to the revenue.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—Something alluding to me has been said; but I assure the right honourable gentleman it is not my custom to throw dirt—I have not dirty hands.

Lord NAAS interrupted Mr. Griffith, and spoke to order.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—I am convinced I must have said something I did not intend, or the right honourable gentleman must have misapprehended me, or he could not have spoken as he has done. What I meant to say was, that the revenue bill was of too much importance to be hurried, and therefore I was for discussing the merits of the clause complained of, by bringing in the bill proposed by the honourable gentleman.

Mr. STEWART withdrew his motion, upon an assurance that the revenue bill should be introduced as soon as possible, and that matters should be conducted as Mr. Mason had proposed.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1786.

Mr. BERESFORD observed that in the last session he had introduced a bill for amending the ballast-office act, but which had, with many other bills, fallen to the ground by the prorogation of the session. In supporting that bill he had had occasion to complain of the misconduct of the ballast-office committee, but in considering the subject further, he found this misconduct was much greater than he imagined. A sum of no less than 17,000*l.* of the public money had been by them applied for entertainments to the lord mayor, and pensions and gratuities completed the account. He would, he said, beg leave to read some of the items.

Entertainments,	—	—	£. 566
Pensions,	—	—	1599 odd.
Fees to clerks,	—	—	200 odd.
Charges for making abstracts to be laid before this House,			200 odd.

Payments, without any cause assigned,	—	56
Sundries,	—	16
Officers salaries, contrary to law,	—	4300
With many other articles.		

To prevent, therefore, such abuses of a public trust in future, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the ballast-office act.

Mr. HARTLEY—I do not think this a proper time to enter into the merits of the bill moved by the right honourable gentleman, but I pray the House to suspend its opinion on what has been just now mentioned, until the particulars are duly stated, and evidence heard upon them. I shall only for the present observe, that the sum of 500*l.* said to have been expended upon entertainments, was the gross amount of a number of years, when according to ancient custom, (a custom in London and in other great ports) they went annually to visit the works; and of which entertainments the governors of this kingdom have sometimes partaken, the lords justices having been of those parties. As to the officers not approved by government, it appeared on a former occasion that the only one on whom gentlemen had laid their finger, was found, upon investigation, to be a very necessary and useful officer.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE said, since laws were made for every degree, he hoped the censures cast upon the ballast-office, and the strict enquiry made into their affairs, were but preludes to enquiries equally strict into other departments. If so, he would rest satisfied, convinced that other departments required reformation as much as the ballast-office.

Mr. BERESFORD.—The account is taken up only from the year 1763—I have reason to think that had it gone farther back, it would have appeared worse; and the reason I did not go farther back is, that all the accounts antecedent to that period were lost.

The damage the harbour has received from the misconduct of the ballast-office is infinite. Some time since they applied to have an officer legally appointed at a salary of 60*l.* a year, to do the duty of two officers whom they had illegally appointed at 75*l.* a year each. The duty of these two officers was to see that the gabbards drudged their ballast so as to deepen the channel where most wanted. How did they perform this duty? Why, by never going on the water at all. They ordered the poor gabbard-men to bring their gabbards to the side of the quay, where they examined whether they were loaded or not; they were then to go to the part of the harbour where the vessels wanting ballast lay, oftentimes to the place from whence the ballast had been drudged, and there deliver it. By this means, not unfrequently, two, three, four, or even six tides have been lost, to the great interruption of trade.

As to the money which the committee borrowed illegally, but certainly with good intention, I shall not dwell much on that head; it has been only a loss of 12,000*l.* to the nation.

Mr. HARTLEY—I hope I shall not be thought an advocate for improper conduct in any man, or body of men; all I desire is, that opinion may be suspended until the committee have an opportunity of defending themselves.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

A petition of Henry Smyth, deputy paymaster of the premiums granted for the inland and canal carriage of corn, malt and flour to the city of Dublin, praying recompence for his care, trouble and expence in his office, was presented to the House and read.

A petition of Henry Gore, Esq; examiner of customs, was presented to the House and read; praying the House, as usual, to take his service and expence into consideration.

A petition of John Wetherall, the elder, assistant examiner of customs, was presented to the House and read; praying such reward for his labour as they shall think fit.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1786.

The committee on the public accounts sat, Mr. Mason in the chair.

Mr. CORY took notice that in the accounts there was the sum of 80,000*l.* charged, for which there was no other document than the bare stating that it had been paid pursuant to the King's letters: He said the committee should have received satisfaction in respect to every particular. He made several other observations on the public accounts.

The House went into a committee on the bill for the improvement and opening of passages in the city of Dublin, Mr. Caldwell in the chair.—When the clerk came to a clause for pulling down old and decayed houses, where robbers and house-breakers generally resorted,

Mr. HAYES said the clause required consideration, as the interest of the proprietors of such houses might be very materially affected; he therefore moved, that the chairman do report progress; which was agreed to.

A petition of John Smart, deputy accountant-general, was presented to the House and read, praying the House to take his labour into consideration.

A petition of John Swan, examiner of excise, was presented to the House and read, praying the House to order him the usual compensation.

Mr. HARTLEY presented a petition of the corporation or president and assistants instituted for the relief of the poor in the county of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, setting forth that the charitable institution of which the petitioners are the directors has operated extensively, and with great and manifest advantage to this city in several respects, particularly in affording immediate relief to all helpless objects, without laying such under a necessity of procuring any recommendations, so that in effect it is supplemental to every other charity; not only within its jurisdiction, but through the whole kingdom; that from the 8th of November, 1773, when the house of industry was opened, to the 25th of December, 1785, the number of blind and infirm maintained, lunatics confined, and persons relieved in cases of temporary sickness, and restored to useful labour, and sturdy vagabonds and strolling prostitutes punished according to law, amounted in the whole to twenty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven; that the average number from the 25th of December, 1784, to the 25th of December, 1785, was one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, the expence of maintaining and clothing whom (buildings and repairs, house-rent, officers salaries, and all contingencies included) amounted to the sum of 991*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* that the number in said house on the 25th of December, 1785, was in the whole one thousand three hundred and fifty-six, viz.

659	Infirm and incurable.
83	Lunatic.
24	Blind.
102	In the hospital.
488	{ Employed at manufactures, and in the servile work of the house.
1356	

That on the 30th of January, 1786, the number increased to one thousand four hundred and ninety-five; that on the 25th of December, 1785, the balance in the hands of John La Touche, Esq; treasurer, was 846*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* only; that the petitioners observe, with concern, a vast encrease of offensive vagrants in this city, arising, as they apprehend, from the very imperfect police of the same, and principally from want of an effectual house or houses of correction; that the present buildings in channel-row are utterly unfit for the purposes of properly separating and classing the poor; that several of them are now in a most ruinous condition; that the tenure of the same is expired, and petitioners

are confined by the present act of parliament to a quantity of ground insufficient for their purposes; and submitting the above considerations to the wisdom and humanity of parliament; expressing their readiness to continue their attention and care in relieving all the helpless poor, so as to leave no real cause for street-begging, whenever the legislature shall judge expedient to grant them a building adapted to the discrimination of the different classes of paupers, and to appoint some more effectual mode of seizing and punishing sturdy vagrants and strolling prostitutes, for whom at present no lock hospital or place of correction is provided.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1786.

A petition of certain inhabitants of the county of Donegal, contiguous to the fishing coast of the said county, was presented and read, setting forth that great shoals of herrings, cod, ling, hake, and other fish annually resort to various ports and creeks all along the coast of the said county at different seasons of the year, and where many vessels assemble for the purpose of curing fish; that the shoals of herrings make their appearance in the greatest quantity during the winter months, and enter the several bays and inlets, which renders it necessary to carry on the fishery by boats; that the usual method followed is for the vessels resorting to that coast to purchase the fish taken by the boats of the country; that for want of a sufficient number of boats for the purpose of fishing, that demand cannot be supplied, and from the great eagerness of the owners of vessels to make up their cargoes, the price of the fresh herrings is frequently raised beyond what they can produce at a foreign market when cured; that from want of a proper establishment of refineries of salt, and stores to deposit foreign salt, from want of convenient buildings to cure the fish, and coopers to prepare the casks, no opportunity offers of curing the fish that resort thither at other seasons than in the months of November, December, and January, when the vessels on bounty attend for that purpose; that the petitioners, highly sensible of the advantages that may accrue from the grant made by the House in the last session of parliament to encourage the north-west fishery, hope that a further aid, on similar conditions, may be extended to them, in order to further this great national object, subject to the like regulations and restrictions as the House in their great wisdom and prudence shall prescribe, to be regularly accounted for to parliament.

A petition of John Tydd, Esq; paymaster of the premiums granted for the inland and canal carriage of corn, malt, and flour

to the city of Dublin, was presented to the House and read, praying such sum as the House shall think fit, for his services and expences in the execution of his office.

Read a second time the bill for paving, lighting and cleansing the city of Dublin.

Mr. CALDWELL observed that this being a bill of very great importance to every inhabitant of Dublin, and seeming to clash with the acts by which a corporation was impowered to open the avenues, it required some time for consideration, and therefore he hoped some reasonable length of time would be allowed for its discussion.

Mr. GRIFFITH urged, besides the foregoing reason, that it vested the commissioners with very great power of levying taxes, and therefore required mature deliberation.

Mr. O'NEIL said he wished the right honourable gentleman who introduced it could have contrived to make it a little more explicit. As it appeared to him, from having heard the brief read, it was extremely complicate and prolix, insomuch that his understanding was not sufficiently comprehensive to decide upon such a voluminous body of matter, in the short time that parliamentary form allowed for consideration; neither was his memory sufficiently strong to carry it away, that he might consider it at home; he for these reasons wished that time might be allowed to understand the bill, and if not incompatible with parliamentary rule, that the brief might be printed.

Lord LUTTRELL said it had been his intention in the absence of his right honourable friend, Sir John Blaquiére, to move for the committal of the bill for Wednesday next, but that to allow every opportunity for discussion, he would alter that intention, and move for its being committed for Monday se'nnight.

The SPEAKER informed the House that there was not in his recollection any precedent of printing the brief of a bill.

Mr. O'NEIL thereupon moved, that the bill itself be printed, which was ordered accordingly.

The House then went into the committee of accounts, Mr. Mason in the chair.

Mr. CORRY moved several resolutions, formed on a number of extracts from the journals of 1775, 1780, and 1785, and purporting to draw a comparison between the expences of government at these different periods. He said, as he did not wish to harass gentlemen with a multiplicity of figures, he had confined himself to ten years; and as he knew how irksome the examination of accounts was, he proposed that these resolutions stand upon

the journals as a brief abstract of the comparison he desired to make, that so being brought within a narrow point of view, gentlemen might be the better able to judge of the propriety of the estimates for the ensuing year, and see in what degree the increase of the national resources kept pace with the increase of her expences.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he objected both to the form and matter of the resolutions proposed. The order of the House under which the committee sat, was to investigate the accounts laid before them, and to report their opinion thereon. Under that order it would be improper to go back for a number of years, neither could any fair comparison be made, as the circumstances of the country were every day changing. The sessions of parliament having become annual, had induced an annual instead of a biennial expence. Additional judges, officers of the bank, the building a new custom-house, additional revenue officers, whose number must increase as the trade of the country increases, were all reasons why the expences of the latter period must be greater. Again, many of the reasons why the expences of former periods were less, must necessarily be forgotten; one, however, occurred to him. The honourable gentleman had stated a period of war and a period of peace. Every one knew that the expences of the military establishment in time of war were less than in time of peace. Why? because in time of war the troops were absent on foreign service, and not paid by this country. There were doubtless many other reasons, but no man being prepared to argue the affairs of 1775 or 1780, except the honourable mover of the resolutions, he would not enter into them, neither would he enter into any comparison of past expences with future estimates, because it was utterly impossible for any man to tell what future parliamentary grants would be.

Mr. CORRY replied, that what he had stated in the resolutions was merely a truism and matter of fact. He could not see how his right honourable friend could deny part of it, though he could very well see that he might be afraid to look it in the face.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—It is not necessary to vote every matter of fact over and over again; we might as well re-vote the journals of the House for the last ten years as those parts the honourable gentleman has thought proper to fix upon. The present resolutions cast an unjust censure on gentlemen in administration, without leaving it in their power to defend themselves, and they may make false impressions on the public mind.

The SECRETARY OF STATE urged the utter impossibility of making any just comparison between the three periods just mentioned, they not having the smallest analogy to each other.

Mr. BURGH (of Old-Town) denied the position, that the enquiry of the committee should not exceed beyond the preceding year. The committee was authorised to call for persons and papers indefinite; they might go back to any year, and it was their duty to do it, if thereby they thought that they could procure any advantage to the nation.

It had been said that the honourable gentleman, to whose labour and ability the House and the nation stood so much indebted, had taken up three periods totally irrelevant to each other, and which by any ingenuity could not be made to bear the least analogy. For his part, he thought the honourable gentleman had acted fairly; he had taken a period after the war, 1775, a period *flagrante bello*, 1780, and a period after the war, 1785.

Mr. CORRY then produced several resolutions on the journals of 1765 to prove that a comparison of years, at a considerable distance from each other, had been made by the House. He assured gentlemen that he had not aimed his enquiry unfairly at the present ministry; but as he saw that the resolutions would not now succeed, he gave notice that he would on a future day renew the subject, and desired the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consult the precedents, and make such preparation to maintain the credit of the present ministers, as their merits or his own ingenuity would enable him to do. He assured him that he had infinite respect for the gentlemen that sat at the different boards, but in making a public enquiry he would divest himself of all personal regards, as dear bought experience had shewn this nation, that by her representatives paying attention to personal regards and attachments, very great mischiefs had arisen. Personal regards had made political cowards of them all, and enterprizes of great pitch and moment, had often in that respect had their currents turned awry.

Mr. BUSHE said he was confident neither the right honourable gentleman [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] who had lately left the revenue board, nor any one who remained, would wince from any enquiry fairly carried on; but no government could possibly stand on its merits if matters were taken up in the manner proposed by the resolutions. Was it just, he asked, to compare a time of peace, when the troops were all at home and paid by this kingdom, with a time of war, when they were abroad, and paid by another country; if so, said he, then that minister, whom in the day of danger sent all the troops away that had been maintained when there was no danger, would appear the only economist of the public treasure, and praise would follow where censure ought to fall; therefore this method of making comparisons is unjust, and leads to false conclusions. It is not sufficient that any thing is true, it should be pointed and applicable.

Mr. CORRY replied to Mr. Bushe, and then the several resolutions were put and negatived without a division.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1786.

A petition of James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to the House, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners have printed the twenty-second volume of the journals; that the cost of printing and binding five hundred copies of the said volume amounts to the sum of 646l. 7s. and therefore praying a grant of said sum.

A petition of James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to the House, was presented, praying recompence for printing three hundred and twenty sets of the public accounts laid before the House this session.

A petition of Robert Nesbitt and company was presented to the House and read, setting forth that a very beneficial trade may be established between this kingdom and several ports in the Mediterranean, by sending red herrings there, for which there is a constant demand, and bringing in return from thence silks, salt, wine, &c. that the export of red herrings from Great Britain is nearly equal to the export of white herrings; that hitherto no attempt has been made in this kingdom to participate of this very valuable branch of commerce; that the petitioners have expended near 2000l. in erecting sisoak houses, stores and yards, at Salt-hill and Brucklafs, in the county of Donegal, on the north-west coast of this kingdom, for curing, storing and barreling red and white herrings, which are admitted to be superior to any works of the kind in the Isle of Man or any part of Great Britain, and have gone to a considerable expence in procuring from England skilful persons for carrying on, in the most improved manner, this important branch of trade; that the petitioners have expended in the purchase of ships, boats, staves, salt, firewood, &c. upwards of 2500l. that the petitioners did last year make up and export to Leghorn a cargo of red herrings, which were sold and highly approved of at that market, and have now a large quantity in forwardness for said market; that the petitioners have since the infancy of the fishery on the north-west coast of this kingdom been deeply concerned in that trade, and have ever been the most forward in its improvement in all its various branches; that one of the petitioners was the first who erected, at a very considerable expence, works for manufacturing salt on the coast, in which he has been since followed by many others, by means whereof large sums have been saved to the nation, which was before supplied at a great expence with salt from Great Britain; and that

the petitioners were the first who made up barrels for barreling herrings on that coast, and who exported from thence herrings in barrels cured with Irish salt, at least equal in quality to any foreign herrings; that the petitioners have incurred a very great expence, at a very great risque, in opening a new channel of trade between this country and the ports of the Mediterranean, without any proportionable returns hitherto, inasmuch as that trade is yet in its infant state, but that they have well-grounded hopes to extend this branch of commerce in a manner highly beneficial to the nation, if suitably encouraged; and therefore praying aid to carry on this new undertaking with spirit and effect.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL presented a bill for vesting the residue of the real and personal estates of Jane Bonnell, otherwise Conyngham, widow, deceased, in trustees, for the purposes mentioned in her will and codicil; which was received, and ordered to be read the first time on Monday morning next.

Mr. BROOKE reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of certain inhabitants of the county of Donegal, contiguous to the fishing coast of the said county, that they had proved their allegations, and deserved the aid of parliament.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1786.

E. H. Pery, Esq; returned member for the city of Limerick, in the room of Lord Pery, was introduced, sworn, and took his seat.

A petition of Thomas, Patrick and Andrew O'Reilly, of the city of Dublin, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that petitioners have expended in erecting mills and machinery at New Holland, on the low road to Lucan, above 12,000*l.* of their private property, where they have for some years carried on, in the most extensive manner, the manufacture of iron wire and scythes, most of which articles, by the sanction, protection and bounty of parliament, with their own unremitting assiduity, is brought to the greatest degree of perfection, and being followed by others in their plan of industry, those very useful articles are now made in sufficient quantity, so as to prevent the necessity of importing them from England or elsewhere; that petitioners beg leave to state to the House that this kingdom is depending on England for unwrought iron of a fit quality to use in the manufacture of iron wire, sheet iron, and sheet tin, and to Russia and Sweden for iron for general uses; from the latter places are annu-

ally imported above 8000 tons, value 130,000*l.* sterling, which is paid for in money, as Russia and Sweden neither take manufacture nor produce in return; that the petitioners beg leave particularly to mention that the iron masters in England have ever denied to supply for exportation iron fit for manufacturing into sheet iron, or plates for tinning; therefore, since the commencement of that manufacture in Ireland, foreign iron has been used, which being uncertain in its nature, is particularly wasteful in that manufacture; that the petitioners having now stated the present situation of the iron trade, as it regards this kingdom, beg leave to mention that they have purchased from Thomas Tenison, Esq; a large tract of land in the Counties of Leitrim and Roscommon, with its royalties, situated on the banks of the Shannon, and within fourteen miles of the port of Sligo; on these grounds there is an inexhaustible fund of iron ore, pit coals, fire clay, fire stone and furnace sand, all of which are of the very best quality, which the petitioners have proved to their entire satisfaction at iron works in England, where they had the materials conveyed, and at their own works near Lucan, where they erected small furnaces, &c. for their more particular satisfaction; on these grounds are also proper and sufficient sites for erecting iron mills, &c. &c.; that the petitioners, anxious to commence a business of such real importance to this kingdom, have for these twelve months past been arranging the conduct of their business here, so as to admit one of the petitioners to give up his entire time to the prosecution of the manufacture of iron at the place herein recited; by this arrangement now effected, that the petitioners are now prepared to commence, if aided by the House with the use of 10,000*l.* sterling, as an addition to their private fund, for the repayment of which, at the term of seven years, with a reasonable interest, the petitioners will provide good and sufficient security; and the petitioners will engage, if so aided, to bring to market in the year 1788, for sale two thousand tons of Irish manufactured iron, part equal to the best English iron, and in general superior to any foreign iron ever imported into this kingdom; that the petitioners are ready to prove by facts to the House the positive certainty of bringing this very important manufacture to the stated crisis if so aided, and their own wisdom will point out to them that there is no object of equal importance in the line of manufacture in this kingdom, it being incontestibly a source of wealth within reach; and therefore praying the House to take the merits of their petition into consideration, and grant them such assistance as to them may seem meet.

A petition of James Mc. Cowan and Henry Holmes, front doorkeepers to the House, was presented to the House and read; praying the House to take off all such fees as they have been

heretofore in receipt of, and grant such compensation in lieu thereof as to the House shall seem meet.

A petition of William Perffe, of Roxborrow, in the county of Galway, and of Hyacinth Skerrett, of Tinvarra, in the county of Clare, Esqrs. was presented to the House and read, setting forth that great shoals of herrings, cod and ling, annually resort to the sea shores of the county of Clare, on the western coast of this kingdom, where from two to three hundred boats annually assemble for the purpose of fishing; that the shoals of herrings make their appearance in the greatest quantity during the winter months, and that from the shallowness of the water in the several inlets on said coast it is necessary to carry on said fishery by boats; that from the want of proper or a sufficient number of houses to receive the persons concerned in said fisheries, or a proper establishment of refineries of salt, or stores to deposit foreign salt, or convenient buildings to cure the fish, the opportunities of very considerable advantage are lost; that the petitioners have expended several large sums of money towards building a quay in a part of said shore, called Blenview, in the bay of Galway, and have built several boats, and otherwise expended several other sums of money for the encouragement of said fisheries; that several other gentlemen would subscribe to the encouragement of said fisheries, if the expence of erecting said necessary buildings was not too great for individuals to engage in; that a sum of 1000l. would be sufficient and adequate to the purpose of building a sufficient number of houses for the persons concerned in said fisheries, a proper establishment of refineries of salt, and building necessary for curing said fish; and that if parliament shall grant the petitioners 1000l. towards said expences, the petitioners are willing to enter into security to expend 1000l. of their own property for said purposes, and that the petitioners have ample properties, real and personal, in said counties for said purpose; such sum as shall be granted, and an equal sum to be secured by the petitioners to be expended under the directions of, and with such restrictions and regulation as the House in their wisdom shall prescribe, to be regularly accounted for to parliament.

Mr. SECRETARY ORDE informed the House that he was commanded by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table; and is as follows:

“ G E O R G E R.

“ His Majesty thanks his faithful Commons for their loyal and dutiful address, and receives with pleasure their professions of attachment to his person, family and government.

"The House of Commons may depend upon his Majesty's warmest concurrence and support in all the great and important objects of their deliberations, and that he will be always ready to co-operate with them in any measures tending to strengthen that lasting connection between the two kingdoms, so essentially necessary to the prosperity and happiness of all his Majesty's subjects."

"His Majesty observes, with much satisfaction, their design of attending to regulations for the improvement of the credit, agriculture and manufactures of the kingdom, as well as to the security of public and private property, and the protection of society; and agrees with them that the encouragement of industry, and the improvement of the education and morals of his people, are among the first objects worthy of the care and attention of the House of Commons of Ireland."

"G. R."

Lord LUTTRELL observed that the expence attending the passing of private bills was enormous, which induced him to mention the subject; that in the month of March, 1784 he found himself, with other gentlemen, members of a board under an act of parliament, and by the accounts above two thousand pounds was paid for the expences of that act, and another now brought in was computed at above 2100l.; he then desired the resolution on the journals of the 26th March, 1784, to be read; which being done, he humorously proceeded, saying the reason why he did not meddle with the matter earlier, was a bad one, idleness, and not to meddle with fees that honest gentlemen had for a long time chalked out for themselves, but as he well knew the disinterestedness of the late Speaker, and also of the present, he did intend to bring it forward as soon as an opportunity offered.

That without an effectual stop was put to such exactions, this never could be a nation; and after reading some extracts from the journals of the other house and observing thereon, and also reading a speech from a newspaper, said to be made in another place, which he said he wished he could make part of his speech, and reading the proceedings and resolutions of parliament, particularly in 1709 and 1710, where they declared themselves competent to estimate the fees on bills, he asked what would they say to the man who had taken upon him to declare the contrary, and posit up fees not agreed to by both houses of parliament?

He then moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the state of passing private bills, and other parliamentary proceedings.

The Honourable DENNIS BROWNE said he did not mean to oppose the noble lord's motion, but was of opinion the expence

attendant on private bills prevented numbers being brought in, and breaking of family settlements.

Mr. GODFREY GREEN said he approved the motion, and that an instance lately occurred in the course of his profession, where a bill was passed relative to an estate of only 400*l.* yearly, and the expence of passing the bill came to 700*l.*

Mr. GARDINER said he wished the motion to go to all bills.

Ordered unanimously.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, that the further consideration of the Lord Lieutenant's speech, the report of the committee of accounts, and the several petitions praying parliamentary aid, be referred to a committee of the whole House, on the supply to be granted to his Majesty.

Mr. CORRY said he wished the entering upon the committee of supply should be postponed until some papers, which he mentioned, were brought in.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he would never consent to have the committee of supply postponed, in order to wait for papers not called for.

Mr. CORRY then moved that the proper officer do lay before the House the charge of the military establishment for one year, commencing the 1st April, 1786.

An estimate of the ordinary and extraordinary expences of the ordnance, from the 31st March, 1786, to the 31st March, 1787.

An estimate of the gross and net produce of the revenue of the post-office annually.

An estimate of the accounts of the royal hospital for one year, ending 24th June, 1787.

An estimate of the charge of the civil establishment for one year, ending at Lady-day, 1787.

An estimate for an annual establishment for barracks, to commence on the 1st day of April, 1786.

An estimate of the extraordinary military contingencies likely to occur in the year 1787.

An estimate of the incidental expences, including seconded officers, likely to occur in the Year 1787.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had a most earnest wish to give all possible information, and that in the course of the committee's sitting he would lay the papers required before the House.

Mr. CORRY said there was one objection to the mode of information offered by the right honourable baronet, that was, that the supply would be granted before the estimate was seen. He

would be glad to invert that mode, as he did not wish to enter the committee blindfold, and vote away the money of the people without consideration; he therefore begged a day, or even a few hours, to inspect the estimate.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER rose to lay before the committee the state of the nation. He begun with observing that it had generally been the fate of his predecessors in office to come to that committee with the state of the debt contracted since the former session, and to make provision for the deficiencies of the present and ensuing years, but it was his peculiar happiness that he had no such statement to make, and he could with pleasure declare, that he did not intend to require any new loan, or any new or additional taxes; but that was not to be understood as precluding him from any alteration or regulation in the mode of those already laid on, nor from raising money for replacing the treasury bills which were to be paid off at Midsummer.

He then proceeded to state the balances and arrears of the nation, from March, 1785, to Michaelmas, 1785.

The first article, he said, is a credit given to the nation for 160,000*l.* subscribed to the lottery, but as that is to be paid back in prizes, it cannot be put to the national use.

				£.
The arrears of the civil establishment, Michaelmas, 1785,	—	—	}	623,754
— Military ditto,	—	—		
Extraordinaries,	—	—	—	151,723
Debt to lottery prizes,	—	—	—	108,548
				160,000
				482,647

From which deduct two charges not likely to be called for, viz.

Grant to the Genevese,	—	£. 30,000	
Ditto to officers widows,	—	35,000	
			65,000

Leaves total arrears at Michaelmas, 1785,	—		417,647
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To pay which there are balances in favour of the nation, as

Cash in collectors hands,	—	£. 210,394	
Stamps,	—	14,566	
Post-office,	—	6,077	
Balance in Treasury,	—		195,167
Ditto to compleat 150,000 <i>l.</i>	—	58,900	
Four shilling tax,	—	5,000	

From which deduct balance claimed by col- lectors,	}	38,100	
And Sir Henry Cavendish's balance of	—	16,013	
Leaves the total real balance,	—	—	435,993
Deduct arrears,	—	—	417,647
			18,345

So that there remains a sum of 18,345*l.* to the credit of the nation at Michaelmas, 1785, and which will be brought to the exigencies of the half year ending March, 1786, which he then stated at 150,976*l.*

Towards the discharge of which he first brought the 18,345*l.* abovementioned, then the different branches of revenue, computing them by half a year, taken from the corresponding half year in the former year, amounting in the whole to 431,871*l.* which leaves a deficiency in March, 1786, of 19,105*l.*

And here he took occasion to acknowledge the merits of his right honourable predecessor in office, [the present Speaker] whose calculation of taxes for the last year had come within 19,000*l.* of the national expenditure, which in every future year it would probably be much nearer, as the first year of a tax is always the most uncertain; instead, therefore, of running 200,000*l.* a year in debt, as had been customary, his right honourable predecessor had proposed those taxes, which he, if it was the sense of parliament, would continue, not because they were the taxes of last year, nor under any idea of bargain, but because they had been found productive, and because the country stood in need of the amount of their produce.

He next entered into an estimate of the ensuing year, from March, 1786, to March, 1787, which he computed at 1,008,237*l.* To answer which he took the different branches of revenue, after making some deductions, such as that for the malt on hands, and repayments on the malt duty when the tax commenced, of 30,000*l.* and some other small items, he computed to arise to 924,504*l.*—He said the difference between this sum and the expence would probably be made up by the increased produce of the new taxes.

Mr. CORRY rose and followed the Chancellor of the Exchequer through his statement in general; he then recurred to the sums claimed by government as credit in the national account, fifty thousand pounds of which, he said, arose from a vote of credit passed by that House, and thirty thousand more as the produce of malt duties for the stock on hands when the tax took place; which sums, he said, could not be fairly taken as part of the present income, as they were not to be repeated in the present supply.

He had, he said, before he sat down, to mention the tax on advertisements; they were a curb upon business, and kept down a thousand useful vehicles of constitutional knowledge—the newspapers—they were the shackle of liberty, and bane of trade; knowledge and information. He saw an easy smile on the countenance of gentlemen on the other side of the House; no men, he allowed, were more consistent in laughing at the people. He never was an advocate for the licentiousness of the press—he was a friend to the conveyance of knowledge to his country.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER replied, that his smile was that of approbation to the honourable gentleman's attention to the affairs of his country.

Mr. HARTLEY said the subscribers to the national bank were entitled to any advantages arising from public money lodged there, as by their subscriptions they had reduced the interest to five per cent. which was of great use to trade.

Mr. NEVILLE said he differed in opinion both with the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Corry, as to the produce of the tax on malt. His reason was, that the operation of the tax not having taken place till the 25th of March, the malting season had begun in October preceding, but did not end till June; besides, great quantities of malt had been concealed, and a fair return was not to be expected from those who had malt upon hands. He thought, at the same time, that taxing the malt then ready made was an oppression, but upon the whole, instead of being less in the next year, he knew that the tax would be considerably more.

He then stated, that he observed in the public accounts that the hereditary revenue had decreased in one year most astonishingly; the decrease, in fact, was a benefit to the nation, as it was principally on customs inwards, 38,948*l.* and on imported excise 21,111*l.* the decrease principally falls on spirits imported, which shews the increase of the use of our own.

He then took a comparative view of the return for six months to Michaelmas, 1785, with the same return to 1784, by which it appeared that the total increase of the hereditary revenue was 15,238*l.* that with regard to additional duties, tobacco had increased 20,822*l.* raw sugar 26,149*l.* but that the total of the increase of the additional duties was but 4,561*l.* and the new additional duties of last session was 92,187*l.*; the stamps 24,481*l.* and the post-office 21,329*l.* That by a return of the treasury there was a balance of 320,647*l.* but that the amount at Michaelmas 1785, was 322,647*l.* and that the amount of the civil and military establishments and extraordinaries was at Michaelmas, 1784, 327,054*l.* making only a difference of 4,407*l.* therefore he could not agree with the hon. gentleman [Mr. Corry] who thought the

income of the nation was stated too high ; nor with the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had, in his opinion, stated it too low.

Mr. KEARNEY made some remarks on the poor sale of Irish estates lately ; we, he said, found a reduction in our treasury ; we were at this very time in debt ; was this a test of our prosperity ? No ; it bore testimony to our fall.

Mr. BOYD answered, that the honourable member was certainly mistaken. The kingdom had no reason to complain of taxes ; the evil complained of arose from the disturbances which had disgraced the capital and pervaded the kingdom. He spoke from his own information as a lawyer, having many opportunities to know the fact ; that the nobility and gentry of England were exerting themselves to call in their money they had lent in this kingdom, and many Irishmen laid out their money in Great Britain, from, perhaps, an ill-founded apprehension, that these disturbances were proceeding to extremity.

He thanked god that he now saw peace and good order almost established in the country, instead of that spirit of riot which had too long subsisted by means of fluctuating, irresolute councils. The vigour of the law had been successfully exerted, and mercifully, by the officers of the crown. The factious demagogues of the country had learned by experience, that the arm of the law is too strong for them ; and now, instead of misleading the people, they have not influence to create a riot at a country vestry. This he imputed to the wise and resolute administration of the Duke of Rutland, and he had no doubt, as industry and peace took place in the country, the value of lands must increase.

Mr. DUNN.—I am far from disputing any fact that the honourable member asserts from his own knowledge, but if I can deduce the effects he complains of, from causes different to those he assigns, I trust he will not think I want a due respect for his opinion. That estates formerly bore an higher price in Ireland than they now do, and that money was more easily attained on mortgages, is not denied, but that was a time when money was to be had in England at three or three and a half per cent. and the interest in Ireland was six per cent. There was then a strong inducement for the monied people of England to purchase, or to take mortgages here, but now they can have six per cent. at home, payable half yearly, and government security. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that they prefer this to sending their money here, where they have the risk of exchange, and many other unfavourable circumstances. However, we see the funds in England are getting up, and when they arrive at their former prosperity, money will flow into its old channel. Let us not, therefore, sound the alarm, that the country is in a state of disturb-

ance, and to give room for a scheme which, under the pretence of preserving the peace, may become an instrument of oppression.

Let us not imitate the conduct of a noble lord who said (if he did say what was reported of him) what I assert is grossly wrong, and which tended to do an irreparable damage to his country. There have indeed been breaches of the peace in different parts of the kingdom, but none of any great magnitude; and I say that the resources of the different counties to preserve tranquility, and a due exertion of the law, is now as great as it was at any period; that spirit of order and obedience which began about five years ago, still flourishes through Ireland, and any one who draws a state of this country from a few robberies and outrages, which even the most civilized and polished states sometimes present, does not fairly describe us.

Mr. COOTE said he had heard that very respectable peer alluded to, in another assembly, congratulate his country upon possessing all the advantages of an union, without its inconveniencies and burdens; it was therefore very improbable that having expressed such sentiments, he ever uttered the reverse of them; that the allusions of this country being in a state of disquietude must be misunderstood; they applied, he apprehended, only to those riots which were committed by the lower order of the people.

Mr. KEARNEY said, in reply to the word disturbances, that some years back, when disturbances were more frequent than now, estates sold at a higher rate than at present, and therefore the riots or tumults of this country had nothing to do with the sale of estates.

Mr. OGLE.—I seldom trouble this House, never upon little disputed points of accounts, but when the landed property of the kingdom, when the protestant ascendancy is at stake, I cannot remain silent; these are the objects I feel myself pledged to support. An honourable gentleman has said the value of lands is fallen; I say it has; it has fallen from very just ground that has been given for jealousy, and it is the business of the representatives of the people to guard the protestant interest of Ireland, and thereby take care it falls no lower. I ask the honourable gentleman who speaks of trifling breaches of the peace, did he never hear of Mr. O'Connor? They say, indeed, he is a madman; but if he be a madman, there is a good deal of method in his madness. I now ask gentlemen in administration, why he has not been checked? And I say if he is not instantly checked, the protestant interest is no more. Every man is not willing to speak against two thirds of the people. Lord Hillsborough did not speak against the protestants of Ireland. I have stood, Sir, at the back ground of the picture; I have avoided seeming an officious man;

I have refrained myself as long as I could from interfering in political dispute; but now, when the very being of the protestant interest is threatened, I start forward to protect it.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL rose to inform the committee that government had not been inattentive to the outrages committed by Mr. O'Connor; that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant had referred to him [the Solicitor] and his right honourable colleague, the information received of that gentleman's proceedings, in order to know whether government was warranted in employing an armed force to suppress him.—They had returned their answer, that consistent with law and constitution, government was not warranted, until after due process the magistrates of the county should report that the power of the county was insufficient. The magistrates, he said, were in a state of torpor; nothing more had been done by them, than receiving information, which information went to shew that Mr. O'Connor had dispossessed several persons of their lands; however, the law officers could not advise the taking re-possession with a military force 'till after due course of law. He concluded with thanking his right honourable friend, whose honest zeal for the protestant interest of Ireland had given government an opportunity of explaining their conduct in this business.

Mr. ORDE (who had been for some time absent) rose to apologize, and said he found his absence had been of no consequence, as his honourable friend had fully explained the situation of government with regard to O'Connor's disturbance. He assured the House that whenever it should be warrantable to employ force, no vigorous exertion of government should be wanting.—He hoped, however, means might be devised to render the interference of the military unnecessary; for though, if compelled to use force, government would take every measure to preserve the quiet of the country, yet it would be much more satisfactory to them if by any means, which the wisdom of gentlemen could devise, peace could be preserved without military interference?

Mr. DILLON (of Roscommon) said he would relate to the committee the history of Mr. O'Connor's disturbance: Mr. O'Connor, he said, who pretends to be descended from the ancient kings of Conaught, has lately taken it into his head to possess himself of the estates and demesnes which his ancestors enjoyed. For this purpose he has assembled about a thousand armed men, and he himself resides in a place situate amongst bogs and fastnesses, where he has a cannon placed at his door, by the firing of which he assembles the mob of the country for many miles around. He has attempted to dispossess several persons of their lands, particularly a Mr. Bourke, of Ballydogan. In the last month he went to the lands of this gentleman, and made a formal

entry, at the same time telling the herd, who had the care of the cattle, that if his master did not, before the 16th of February, send him a certain sum of money, he would carry his cattle away where they should never be found. Mr. Bourke is a very respectable man, and the estate claimed by O'Connor has been in Bourke's family sixty-three years.

I detest, said Mr. Dillon, military government as much as any man; but knowing, as I do, that the magistrates of the county would be madmen in attempting to suppress O'Connor, and feeling that I derive my independence from an estate which has been in my family since Queen Elizabeth's time, I wish to have that estate protected.

Something has been said of words which are supposed to have fallen from a nobleman in another kingdom. If he did utter those words, it was ringing the alarm-bell to the English to call in their money. I do not say he did use such words, but if he did they were not the words of a friend. For my part, I never knew a man in Ireland who did not abhor the thought of a French government—every one execrates the idea.

Mr. TRENCH said he applauded the temperate conduct of government, in which they had shewn such an attention to the necessary forms of law. He said he had no doubt, if necessity required it, that the vigour of their exertions would be equally praise-worthy; but he reminded gentlemen that the present was not the proper time to enquire concerning the enormities complained of, as the perpetrators of them would soon come before them, when they should in another capacity (as grand jurors) be able to deal with them according to their deserts; at present he called their attention to the supply.

Mr. OGLE.—It was not my intention to upbraid government, but to warn them, and support them in maintaining the protestant ascendancy. I own my mind was disturbed when I saw the utter ruin of that ascendancy, not only in the affair of Mr. O'Connor, but in ten thousand other instances. What portends the resistance that is made to the collection of tythes? Does it not go to the utter overturning of the protestant establishment in church, and consequently in state. What shall we say to the daily practice of carrying away women?—An honest, industrious farmer, by great care and labour, lays by four or five hundred pounds for his daughter: No sooner is this known, than some ruffian in the neighbourhood assembles a gang of two or three hundred banditti, forces the farmer's house, drags the girl out, throws her across a horse, and so carries her off to the next priest, where she is compelled to marry him or suffer worse. Our gazette is full of such offences, and do you think that any man of common sense will trust his money in a country where they are practised?

Mr. DENNIS BROWNE said what had been attributed to the noble lord in question was false as to this country; there was not a man in it who did not hold a French government and an union in equal abhorrence.—

He was proceeding, when he was called to order by

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE, who said it was indecent and unparliamentary for the House to allow any person's character to be traduced, particularly in their absence, upon newspaper authority. That he would take upon him to assert that the noble lord alluded to had said nothing in the House of Lords of England which he would not himself proclaim in the senate of Ireland.—Gentlemen forgot the integrity, the character, the conduct of that noble lord; the uniform attention he had always shewn to the interests of this country, when they opposed to these the misrepresentation, perhaps the wilful misrepresentation of a newspaper; he therefore called upon the chair, for the honour of the House, to put a stop to this conversation.

Mr. BROWNE said he did not attribute the words printed in an English paper to any man, but that the words were false to every intent and purpose.

Mr. ANNESLEY entered into a defence of the noble lord alluded to, and said he would prove, from the uniform and constant tenor of his conduct, that it was utterly impossible for him ever to have spoken but in support of the honour and interest of Ireland. The noble lord had supported the principle of Mr. Orde's bill, as it gave Ireland every advantage she could derive from an union, without the humiliating and injurious consequence of one; that the bill had indeed been endeavoured to be decryed, but people as they begin to understand, begin to acknowledge the benefits which would flow from it, notwithstanding the abundant pains of the labourers in the vineyard of patriotism, who have called meetings of the people to instruct the people themselves.

Mr. MASON, chairman of the committee, said, upon the first motion in the committee of supply, he did not hold himself warranted in stopping any gentleman from going into whatever he might suppose would throw light upon the state of the nation; however he did not think newspaper authority should be quoted, and therefore hoped gentlemen would not again recur to it.

Mr. FORBES.—I am sure the honourable gentleman who introduced the subject had no intention to violate order, yet I think his observation should have been connected with finance. I submit it, whether if there are some violators of law in this country, we should not rather direct judicial proceedings against them, than incautiously enter into any declarations concerning tumults

and outrages. We know that there are people who will eagerly seize upon what may fall in this House, and who will think themselves interested in exaggerating and misrepresenting it. At the same time I say this, I must bear testimony to the virtue of my right honourable friend who stands forth in the protestant cause, convinced as I am that he would shed the last drop of his blood in that cause.

Before I sit down, I request to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is intended to push the supply through the committee this night?

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER answered that the committee were the proper judges how long they would please to sit.

This answer not being satisfactory, Mr. Forbes repeated his question. After waiting some moments, he directed his words to Mr. Orde, and not receiving any answer, he said, I am sorry I am so inconsiderable as to be unworthy an answer.

Mr. ORDE.—I am not a little surprised at what has just fallen from my honourable friend, for so I will call him. I conceived after what had been said he would have been satisfied; that therefore it was unnecessary for me to rise, and that if I had risen, I should have been more guilty of ostentation than I am of offence by my silence.

Mr. CONOLLY.—I did not expect a debate this night. I have heard the statement made by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his wishes for economy. He has done his business like an honest Irishman, and I wish, for the honour of government, it was in such good hands as those of honest resident Irishmen. I have always, for one, endeavoured to prevent the principle of English party getting here—it has ruined England, and if it gets here our ruin will follow. But let a secretary come from what party he will, we are ready to receive him; he is a political automaton; the moment he comes to the Castle every one is anxious to see him, and ask him questions; more gentlemen of this House crowd to his assembly-room than to that over the way. [*Alluding to a speaking figure exhibited in College-green.*] The questions are always put in a loud voice, but they are answered in a whisper; and was this puppet to be changed ten times a week, it would still command the respect of this House.

Mr. MASON, chairman of the committee of supply, reported progress, and the committee adjourned until to-morrow morning.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1786.

Sir **HERCULES LANGRISHE** presented a bill to amend an act passed in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his present majesty, entitled an act for the preservation of the game; which was received and read the first time.

The bill for the better regulating of public gaols and prisons in this kingdom, was read a second time.

Mr. **HOLMES** moved that the committee be impowered to receive a clause, requiring the clerk of the crown at every assizes, to make out a schedule of the number of persons brought to trial, the crimes for which they were tried, distinguishing those who were convicted and had received his majesty's pardon, and also those who had been acquitted.

Mr. **GRIFFITH** moved that the said committee be impowered to receive a clause, directing grand juries for the county and city of Dublin to appoint a physician to the gaols in said county and city.

Mr. **HARTLEY** rose in order to present a petition from the several members composing the Dublin, General and Hibernian Insurance Companies, against the duty of one shilling per cent. imposed on all sums insured by an act of the last session.

Mr. **MASON** objected to the petition being received, as it alluded to a tax.

Mr. **HARTLEY** replied, that although it might be unusual to receive petitions against a new tax, yet he conceived it did not militate against the custom of parliament to receive a petition against the continuance of an old one that had been proved partial or unproductive.

The **SECRETARY OF STATE** said he had doubts of the propriety of receiving the petition if it went to a repeal of any tax, and hoped it might prove sufficient for the honourable member to read it in his place; he had, however, he said, his doubts of the expediency of continuing the said duty.

Colonel **ROSS** said he had received a petition of a similar tendency from a most respectable number of his constituents in Newry, which, on account of the objections that had been made, he would decline presenting for the present.

Mr. **NEVILLE** said the members who composed the several companies, were gentlemen of the first characters and consequence in trade in the nation; their application should therefore be attended to, and the cause of their complaints removed.

Mr. **HARTLEY** then read the petition in his place, which stated, "That by an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled

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&c. a duty of one shilling per cent. per annum, was imposed upon all sums insured, or to be insured from fire in this kingdom. That said act in its operation and effect, had proved of most material detriment and injury to petitioners, and to the business of insurance in general in this kingdom, as many persons that were theretofore insured, had since discontinued their policies, and numbers of others who wished to cover their effects, were deterred by means of said duty, which amounted to two-fifths of the entire premium, usually charged by petitioners on insurance. That the business of insurance was little more than in a state of infancy in this kingdom, and the inhabitants thereof not being much accustomed thereto, petitioners had ever found it very difficult, even before the said duty was imposed, to induce any persons to insure, the principal part of their business depending on their own insurances, and those of their particular friends. Praying leave to assure the honourable House, that instead of receiving any profit by the business of insurance, they had lost considerably since the duty was laid on, which at least made but a very small and uncertain part of the revenue, and it was feared would be altogether unproductive; they humbly hoped the House would see the necessity of discontinuing the same, otherwise it would be impossible for them to continue the business of insurance. And praying such relief as the House in their infinite wisdom should deem meet."

After which, in order to allow time for the several members to revolve the matter fully in their minds, and to secure their unanimous concurrence at a future period, he withdrew the petition, which he said had a roll of names annexed to it of considerable length, and contained those of many bankers, traders and gentlemen of considerable consequence, as well as members of the House.

Mr. FORBES alledged that numberless instances might be adduced of receiving petitions against taxes that were of a local, partial, or injurious tendency.

Mr. CURRY mentioned that by act of parliament, all sums of money belonging to minors or suitors in the Court of Chancery and Exchequer, were to be lodged in the bank: He said the bank had profited considerably by the use of the lodgments made under that description; that it amounted at present to 80,000*l.* which at five per cent. the rate the bank discounts at, produces them a yearly profit of 4000*l.* In his opinion this benefit should be applied to the service of the public, for it was never intended for the benefit of the bank; at the same time, he was for allowing them a reasonable charge for the trouble which the particular business might occasion. He said that the bank had received great advantage from the public, and that the debentures which the bank capital is composed of, (at its establishment so low as 77) had now risen to 123. He would therefore move that the proper officers do lay

before the House an account of all sums of money and securities, paid into the bank by the Masters, Usher, and Accountant of the Court of Chancery; also all sums of money paid in by the Court of Exchequer, to the 1st of January, 1786.

Mr. ORDE said he begged the honourable gentleman would not suppose he got up with any intention of preventing the information desired, but that government at this very moment had the same subject under consideration. He thanked the honourable gentleman for urging them to what they were so well inclined to investigate, but hoped that a little time would be allowed to see what effect would be produced by the order for paying these monies into the bank; an order which had only taken place last year, and of which the full effect could not yet be known; also to consider whether the money in the bank could not be made productive of the compensation intended to the officers of the courts.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said he had no personal interest in the national bank, but as it served to promote the benefit of the community, which it had already done in a most eminent degree, and which it would carry much farther, by reducing the interest of money, and by that means promoting agriculture, trade and commerce, if not improperly checked; he therefore begged the honourable gentleman to let it remain as at present, under the inspection and guardianship of government. If he did, he was convinced the honourable gentleman, who was well known to have the prosperity of the nation so much at heart, would hereafter rejoice in its success.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said to the national bank he attributed that there is more money now circulating in Dublin than the whole kingdom ever possessed at any former period; and he hoped in a little time to see the national rate of interest reduced from six to five per cent.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said the sums of money under the description of the honourable gentleman's motion, continually fluctuated, and of course the annual profits from such lodgements could not be possibly ascertained. He said there was at present 15000*l.* lodged in the bank, in the cause of the Duke of Chandos against his tenants, which in all probability might be drawn out in six or eight months; therefore, in his opinion, the motion was totally unnecessary.

Mr. CORRY said he had this object in contemplation last session. As to what had been mentioned by an honourable baronet [Sir Nicholas Lawless] that the public was under obligations to the bank for discounting at five per cent. he denied them any merit on that head. It was to parliament, and not to the bank of Ireland, that the public was indebted.

The question was then put on Mr. Corry's motion, when, on a division, there were for the motion

Ayes - - 9 — Noes - - 144

Mr. CORRY said he could not help charging the Secretary with inconsistency; he had only called for a common paper from a public office; he believed the subject was not properly understood by the House, he should therefore bring it on again.

The House then resolved itself into a grand committee of supply, Mr. Mason in the chair.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved, that the debt of the nation was 3,044,167*l*. and that a supply be granted to his Majesty for the support of the different branches of the establishment.

Mr. CONOLLY said he had always voted for the honourable support of his Majesty's government, and thought it was the duty of loyal subjects so to do to the best of their abilities; but he had observed that the expences of government every year encreased: One year the minister came down to the House, complained of deficiencies in the revenue, and demanded a loan. Well, it was granted—the next year it was repeated, still the expence increased, but many promises of œconomy; at last the minister says, raise your revenue to your expences by new taxes—it is done, but still the expence increases. Surely, said he, it is now time to put a stop to this increasing expence. I am as willing to go to the utmost of the nation's ability as any man, but that is done already; I wish therefore to make some compromise with the minister for the benefit of the people.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I should be sorry the vote which I now gave should be supposed to conclude me as to the establishment for the ensuing year, particularly the civil establishment; that is a subject that requires time to deliberate, and I only say, I beg leave not to be concluded by the vote given in the committee to the increased civil establishment. I think it is time to make a stand against the growth of expence; that principle should be fairly discussed, for in my opinion, if no stand is made against the growth of expence, your constitution and commerce are undone.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1786.

Lord LUTTRELL presented a petition of the agents whose names are thereunto subscribed, setting forth that the expence of passing private bills in this kingdom is much higher than in Great Britain, by reason whereof many persons are disabled from

applying for bills for settling or disposing of estates in this kingdom, in such manner as the legislature might think just; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration; and grant such relief as may seem fit.

Alderman WARREN presented a bill for the more effectually collecting the public money to be raised by presentment within the county of the city of Dublin, and also for the more effectually repairing the roads within the county of the said city, and the liberties thereof; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL presented a bill for making more effectual an act made in the seventeenth year of the reign of his late Majesty, King Charles the Second, entitled an act to prevent delays in entering statutes, judgments and recognizances, and for explaining an act made in the tenth year of the reign of his late Majesty, King Charles the First, entitled an act for contentation of debts upon execution; which was received and read the first time.

Lord LUTTRELL reported from the committee appointed to consider the petitions of Blair and Ormston, and Messrs. O'Reilly, that they had fully proved the allegations of their petitions.

Mr. O'HARA said he wished to know the sentiments of the House on a subject he would then mention: In his opinion it would be for the advantage of the kingdom if a proper and accurate chart of all the lands in Ireland was made, so as to point out the lands where there were mines and minerals, and where such were most likely to be found, which would be of infinite benefit to the nation to know the substrata of the kingdom. He had been lately introduced to the knowledge of a man very capable of such an undertaking; that such persons were scarce, for he was informed there were but two persons in Great Britain competent to such an undertaking; and as on granting money to the Dublin Society, the application was directed by the House, one half to arts and manufactures, and the other half to agriculture, if the House should think proper that they should be directed to grant a certain sum to one or more for that purpose, he was of opinion it would be of national utility.

Mr. HEWIT said he had received a petition, signed by a most respectable majority of the merchants and traders of Belfast, against the duty of one shilling per cent. imposed last session on all sums insured against fire; but as it was not usual to receive petitions against taxes, he would content himself with stating the circumstances to the House.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said as the other House had come to a resolution, limiting the time for the bringing in of private bills, it was also requisite for that House to do the same; he then

moved that no petitions for private bills be received after the first week in March.

Mr. O'HARA called for the third reading of the bill for suspending for a limited time the act of last session, for the more effectual registering of freeholds.

Mr. HAYES said he wished the honourable gentlemen to reconsider the last bill; it was a bill putting the subject under great hardships, and he thought it impossible for it ever to be complied with; for his part he should be for an amendment to the present, by moving a suspension of the former bill for 999 years, in the place of, to the first of January next; and declared his intention of moving to bring in a bill to explain or report the former bill; and hoped the reading of the present bill would be postponed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said there had been an election lately in the county of Limerick, and that no inconvenience arose from the last bill; if there had he should have heard of it, as he had several freeholders there,

Mr. O'HARA replied that the last bill was passed after mature consideration and debate of three days in the committee, and was of great advantage by quickening of elections and saving of great expence, which the House had often felt the effects of.

The third reading of the bill was postponed.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1786.

Mr. BERESFORD said he had troubled the House last session with a bill for regulating the harbour, at which time it was opposed on the principle that the accounts of the ballast-office committee had not undergone the inspection of the commissioners of impress-accounts. The commissioners had since that time laid before them such papers relative to this office as they could get, but found that thirteen folio volumes of them were wanting, and what had been produced only related to the receipts and disbursements of the office, and that he would be glad to compare some of the papers delivered to the commissioners with those presented to the House by the ballast-masters; and then, after some observations on the accounts, moved, that the proper officer lay before the House an abstract of the accounts laid before the commissioners of impress accounts by the ballast-office committee; which was ordered accordingly.

Mr. HARTLEY said he would never be an advocate for any set of men on whom a defalcation of the public money could be

proved; he hoped, however, that the ballast-office committee might have an opportunity of exculpating themselves from any charge of delinquency.

Mr. CONOLLY.—I gave notice the other day, that on the report of the committee of supply, I did intend to move a resolution or two—I am now prepared to do so, and I flatter myself they are of such a nature that no man on either side of the House will object to them. No man wishes more to support the honour of the King's government, and the necessary establishment, than I do, and I cannot suppose the Duke of Rutland, or the gentlemen in his confidence, will object to these resolutions, as I am certain I would advise any Lord Lieutenant in whose councils I had the honour to be, to adopt them, nor would I, on any side, give the least impediment to the good government of the country.

The first resolution is, "That this House did, in the last session, grant certain new taxes, estimated at 140,000*l.* per annum, for the purpose of putting an end to the accumulation of debt."

The second is, "That should the said taxes be continued, it is absolutely necessary that the expences of the nation should be confined to her annual income."

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Sir, I am so confident that the principles and professions of government are consistent, that, as far as I can, I will meet the resolutions of the right honourable gentleman—I mean so far as not to preclude a provision for accidental defalcation by the falling off of the revenues, or by the increasing of bounties; therefore as I am conscious the present administration have no view but the prosperity of the kingdom, and the honour that must consequently result to themselves, I shall make no objection to the first resolution, for I think that the taxes of last session were intended to prevent the accumulation of debt.

Mr. BERESFORD.—I rise only to make a single observation on the wording of the resolution, not to oppose the spirit of it. What it conveys is not exactly the fact; some of last year's taxes were new, some additional to old taxes, and some taxes of commutation, as the malt tax, by which the common brewer is entitled to drawback a part of his excise proportioned to the malt he consumes; the 140,000*l.* therefore, was not then laid on.

The question was then put upon the first resolution, and it passed unanimously.

Mr. CONOLLY.—I have such an high opinion of the integrity and honour of the Duke of Rutland, and such confidence that he will not be misadvised, that could I hope his administration would be continued for a great number of years, I should deem these re-

solutions unnecessary; however, I am willing to mollify it so as not to prevent government from defending the country in case of war, or to tie up their lands in case of defalcation in taxes.

He then moved the second resolution.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—The right honourable gentleman cannot mean to throw any imputation on government for the expences of the last year; they have very fairly passed through the committee of accounts, and it does not appear that a single objection has been made to any article. What then does the right honourable gentleman mean? He cannot intend to take government at a disadvantage, and tie them up to a bargain to maintain the growing expence of the country with a falling revenue.

As to admitting the principle, government has done it in the strongest manner; they have come to this House without demanding a loan, without proposing a tax, and with the strongest declaration from the throne, of a fixed determination against the accumulation of debt: and now, because they have shewn a disinclination to burden the people, they are to be tied down to maintain the expence of a great and flourishing country, (as there is every reason to hope this will soon be, by the efforts that are made to forward the advantages we daily acquire) with a revenue which falls daily.

Now, suppose such a resolution had been passed twenty years ago. Can any man maintain his private establishment at the same rate he then did? And if not so, can the establishment of a nation, that has prospered in that time beyond all example, be so maintained? 'Tis impossible. The present ministry have held out on all occasions the idea that they are desirous to prevent the increase of debt; that they wish to observe the utmost economy, consistent with the honourable support of his Majesty's government. Let them then have the honour which will flow from such a conduct, and let it not seem as if it arose from a compulsory vote of the House of Commons.

MR. HARDY said that the resolution moved for was not meant to embarrass administration in the least, but just the contrary. It proceeded on the very grounds held out in the speech from the throne, and no other. Those additional taxes were (whatever might be said to the contrary now) originally granted in expectation of, and on the faith of a commercial system, which system seemed at present to be abandoned.—As the system was gone, and the taxes remained, it might very reasonably be asked on what ground did they continue? On this ground he supposed, and no other: That whether that commercial system had been brought to perfection or not, it was necessary at all events, to raise the revenue to its present height, in order to prevent an accumulation of debt. Now as to checking an increase of debt, it was a principle in

which every side of the House agreed; and it was merely to give efficacy and stability to that principle, that the resolution was brought forward. It called upon the House to justify itself in continuing the taxes, on the only condition in which they now could be continued: Namely, that no new expence shall in future, if possible, be incurred; or in other words, that there shall not be an accumulation of debt. In all this, what did it differ from the speech from the throne? They both professed a similarity of principle; and therefore the right honourable Secretary, whose speech in fact that was, and who held out this principle to Ireland, was bound in point of consistency at least, to support this resolution. His parliamentary experience must tell him how insufficient all ministerial promises and declarations were on the subject of public money; and no person whatever knew better than he did, that all such promises would vanish into air, unless they were brought into life and efficacy by a resolution of this sort. The right honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that it would tie up the hands of the nation; but if it had ever looked to such an object, it would have been nugatory, for that was more than it could effect; all that it contended for was this—to set bounds, if possible, to domestic prodigality—to make some stand against any future idle expenditure of the public money. It did not point out a path for a great nation, but for the minister of that nation, to walk in. These were the objects of the motion, and it contained nothing more than what was perfectly consonant to the ideas of every person who had ever thought or wrote on the subject. It had been said that if we restricted ourselves by any resolution of this sort, we might not have it in our power to assist Great Britain as we could wish; but it was to be remembered, that the supply and the condition which was proposed to accompany that supply, continued only from year to year; but independent of this circumstance, which alone would be sufficient to obviate any objection of that sort, and to meet the principle directly, he would say, that the true method of serving England effectually, would be by adopting such a resolution as the present; or in other words, not anticipating our strength, but reserving our exertions against a day of difficulty and danger—that day might not be very remote. Mr. Hardy here took a general view of the state in which England stood as to the powers on the Continent—That it was very evident, whatever language its different courts held, a secret and malignant joy seemed to pervade them all at the distress of England.—“How art thou brought down to the earth, which didst weaken the nations,” was a language supposed to have been addressed to ancient Babylon, and which they seemed to hold now, and exultingly hold to England. In this state of things, when the tranquility of Europe might be broke in upon, we know not how soon; when the death of a great poten-

tate [the King of Prussia] might occasion a revival of general hostilities, he thought it would be wise in Ireland to be prepared to give England real assistance—If a general war broke out, Ireland would be called on; and how any effectual assistance could be given to England, or any new burdens could be imposed on the people, except by a previous controul of the expenditure of public money, by economy and frugality, the only objects the resolution looked at, he was utterly at a loss to learn. He then observed, that the present time seemed of all others the most adapted to carry this resolution into execution: During and after the war it might have been exclaimed against, as not according with the gallantry and generosity of Ireland. Immediately after the war it might have been said, that we had not time sufficient to consider our real situation; but when we have had three years profound peace, and nothing to interrupt us (unless, he begged pardon, the wide-wasting rebellion of Mr. O'Connor) it surely became the wisdom of a great legislature to attend to this first consideration—the expenditure of public money—a consideration, the neglect of which, neither the commerce, the landed property, nor eventually the constitution of this country, could possibly survive.

If any nation was ever bound to give a severe attention to its finances, it was Ireland. Other nations might occasionally go far into debt, because they had great resources—resources not like those of Ireland, new and uncertain as to their efficacy, but established and productive. Here he compared the situation of Ireland in this respect with other countries, especially with France, and contended that being, from the effects of the late wretched policy that governed this kingdom, deficient in two great resources of all public revenue, national stock, and national industry, and her ministry not having it in their power at all times to carry any good measures into execution which their wisdom and their patriotism might suggest, and not being responsible for any bad ones, it was evident that Ireland, from all these circumstances, the recency and therefore at present inefficacy of her commerce, the inertness of her people, and the inability of her own ministers to afford her uniform encouragement and protection, that of all nations whatever, she was peculiarly and irresistibly called upon to check the growth of her national expences. He then said, that as to perpetual funding the debt of a nation, (to avoid which was one argument for continuing 140,000*l.* taxes) he condemned it as much as any one possibly could; it was in fact the most delusive mode of providing for public debts that could be devised, because, under the semblance of laying very slight, and at the same time no additional taxes whatever, it facilitated the minister in laying the heaviest burdens on the people. But if some such resolution as the present was not acceded to, if we were not

only to provide for the expences of government, by a revenue to be raised within the year, but in addition to accumulate that public debt, by always, or very often at least, exceeding our income, the certain consequence would be public bankruptcy; for what else could be the result of adopting two financial systems directly contrary to each other almost at one and the same time, that is, raising the revenue within the year, and of course taxing the people as high as they could well bear; and then, by not confining ourselves within that revenue, laying the foundation for new funds, and of course new burdens, not only in the present generation, but all posterity. To pretend by fixed and irrevocable laws to set limits to the expences of a nation in all cases whatever, would indeed be the height of puerility; but that was not an assembly of sophists, but the representatives of the people, and therefore if they agreed as to the substance, they would not differ as to the words of the motion. But it was not such a law merely, but a sacred principle and precedent in the grant and expenditure of public money that was now to be adopted—a principle that should always remain untouched, and beyond which no minister should dare to go. The want of such a principle, such a fixed regulation in finance, every intelligent practical writer on political economy constantly lamented. The want of it had almost ruined England. The want of it had almost encouraged Sir Robert Walpole to take 500,000*l.* out of the sinking fund at once, and to tell the country gentlemen that if they did not support him in such a measure, (the most ruinous that could be devised) that he would harraß them with two or three shillings in the pound land-tax, instead of one shilling.—He adduced this example, he said, to shew how little dependence was to be had on ministers in the management of the public treasures, when the immediate ease of their own administration, not to speak of their more criminal views, was to be consulted; and he adduced it more particularly, to caution the House not to place too implicit a confidence in the promises of any administration which would hold out the idea of a sinking fund to diminish the debt of a nation, as an inducement to continue new taxes, and new burdens; because, if ever any fund was regarded as sacred to the people of England, that fund certainly was; and if ever a minister was engaged not to apply that fund to the current services of the year, it was Sir Robert Walpole; for he was the father of it, or at least gloried in being called so, and was the very first to violate it.

He then took notice of another example in financial history, which he thought might be applied to the then question—Lord Halifax, he said, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, undertook at one time to raise the supplies within the year, and it was said then, just as it is now, that the people should not be burdened with any additional taxes for some time to come. Every one knows

how far the condition was complied with ; and if it is adduced in argument, that the war which followed necessarily brought on an accumulation of debt, he could only say, in answer to that argument, that if the English legislature at that time had some fixed financial principle to steer their course by, and it was lamented even then by some very intelligent senators and writers that they had not, if that legislature had (as it was proposed to the Irish House of Commons now to do) strenuously opposed any increase of expence consistent with the real ability of England, that war could not have lasted so long, or extended so far as to serve the purposes of some individuals, not the real interests of Britain, as it certainly did.—Debt to a certain amount, was, for very obvious reasons, beneficial to a commercial country, but it should be always bounded by the real resources of the state ; for there was one maxim in which all writers agreed, and Dr. Smith, whom he mentioned with great respect, particularly laid it down, that when the debt of a nation accumulated to a certain height, there was no instance whatever, either in ancient or modern history, of its not being followed either by a public bankruptcy, or an absolute defrauding of the public creditor. Having touched on this, he drew to a conclusion by observing, that the only difference between the ruin of England and Ireland would be this—that England would sink perhaps under the weight of her debt, but she would fall covered with honours and triumphs, and leaving a name of eternal celebrity amongst nations, whilst Ireland would fall inglorious, unpitied, and, except [turning about and bowing to Mr. Grattan, who sat near him] during the splendid period of her emancipation, totally unknown and disregarded. He then recapitulated one or two points in his speech, which he had glanced at before, and concluded with giving his warmest and most decided approbation to the motion.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said he believed this administration as friendly to Ireland as any of their predecessors ; he approved of the motion, as just, moderate, and equitable ; it was a support to government ; for when pensions and additional salaries were solicited by those men who harraiss the throne only to partake of the national plunder, they could receive a decisive answer, by referring to this resolution when entered on the journals.—He observed that a list of pensions for the last sixty years, had been returned to parliament. That in the first thirty years it amounted to 1,180,799*l*.—That in the last thirty years it amounted to 2,328,608*l*. consequently an encrease in the last thirty years of 1,147,809*l*. Which enormous sum, instead of being squandered in pensions (exclusive of the waste of public treasure in additional salaries and useless employments) being properly applied would have reduced the national debt more than half of its pre-

sent amount. He next took notice that the pension list of 1785 exceeded that of 1760, by so large a sum as 32,243*l.* that the same prodigality continued, as the pension list of even the last two years stood as follows: In 1784, it was 86,176*l.* and in 1785, it was 89,440*l.* the encrease that one year was 3,264*l.* He admitted that in the list returned from March 1785, to January 1786, there appeared a saving of the trifling sum of 1,250*l.* but observed, that the Ides of March were not yet come. He feared it would then, or shortly after, appear indispensably necessary to curtail this profusion of the public money; the nation could not bear it, and would demand redress.

Mr. BURGH (Accountant-general) said that he thought it incumbent on him to correct an error a right honourable gentleman had made in stating the debt of this country, for through mistake he had added to the present debt the whole of the supply for the several establishments, interest money and annuities for the year to come, that is to Lady-day, 1787. He said the debt of the nation was certainly very high, and had increased rapidly, for that from the year 1760 it had increased from 223,000*l.* to 2,181,501*l.* but that he must observe that two very expensive companions had gone hand in hand with that debt, that is, premiums and parliamentary grants, which amounted in the said number of years to 2,700,000*l.* He said that gentlemen should reflect on the consequences of the second resolution; it required at large that the expence of this country should be confined within its own income. The fact is, that all the expences that are within the authority of government are within the income, but premiums on the export of several articles, interior premiums for the encouragement of manufactures, the premiums on bringing corn to Dublin, and all other bounties and premiums may come to any amount; for example the unforeseen charges in the half year ending Michaelmas 1785, exceeding the like half year in 1784, in above fifty thousand pounds. Parliamentary grants are somewhat foreseen, but yet they are very great. He said these expences were not named for the purpose of objecting to them, but for the purpose of shewing that in twenty-five years the money given for the good of this country amounted to above five hundred thousand pounds more than the national debt.

As to the first resolution he made no objection, because it very candidly stated that the 140,000*l.* granted last session was for the purpose of putting an end to running in debt. Had the gentleman said that the taxes of last session were for the purpose of putting an end to running in debt, it would not have been so candid or so clear as putting it specifically on the intended amount, because it was not the taxes but the amount of the taxes that was to produce that effect, and till the new taxes produce that amount they are deficient.

He said in respect to the support of his Majesty's government, that the only difference of opinion seemed to be, whether it shall be done by borrowing money every year, or by having sufficient taxes; one thing was evident to every man, that in the last ten years, one year with another, the expences of the country had exceeded its income about two hundred thousand a year, including the money borrowed on life annuities. He said that nobody that had considered the subject could suppose that it was better to run in debt every year, and nobody had pointed out how the expences and establishments would be reduced; then, of course, if they continue, they must be provided for; there is a material difference in favour of the continuation of taxes, in preference to running in debt; for every year that you run two hundred thousand pounds in debt, you occupy above nine thousand a year of your loan duties, the residue of which duties, after paying interest, is very honourably employed in the discharge of the principal debt. This method would in a few years occupy the whole of your sinking fund, which is now between seventy and eighty thousand pounds a year. If that was entirely employed in the discharge of interest, all hopes were over of discharging or lessening the principal debt. He said that it was impossible for to agree with the second resolution, without amending it by inserting after the word country, "exclusive of premiums, bounties, and parliamentary grants."

Mr. BROWNLOW.—The two resolutions proposed by the right honourable gentleman are both of them absolutely necessary; and if the latter is not accepted, the first becomes nugatory. By an accumulation of taxes you must ultimately destroy your trade and manufactures. This resolution does not bear at all hard against the present administration; if you do not agree to it, you leave this matter open for future administrations, for the purposes of venality and corruption. Every friend to Ireland, every man who has the least regard for this country, must vote for this resolution.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—This motion is not a motion of party; every man who has a shilling property in this country ought to vote for it; it is to bind administration, and to form a barrier against the minister's prodigality. Gentlemen on the side of administration say they admit the principle of the resolution; but why do not they come forward and say how far will they go to carry this principle into effect? For my part I will give it my warmest assent.

Mr. MOLYNEUX said the motion was unjust and unnecessary, and he should vote against it.

Mr. MASON said the question appeared to him in a very different light from that in which it was considered by the right honour-

able gentleman at the other side of the House, [Mr. Brownlow.] If this country was in a perfect cultivation, if our trade and manufactures were thoroughly established, it might possibly be right to adopt the principle of this resolution, and to make our expences conform to our revenue; but in the present situation of this kingdom, in the infancy of its trade, manufactures and agriculture, which require the constant attention and support of parliament, that measure might be attended with the most pernicious consequences; and instead of reducing our expences to the level of the revenue, it would be more wise in us to endeavour to increase the revenue by every means not burdensome on the subject, so that it might answer not only the reasonable charges of government, but such bounties as parliament should think proper to grant for the encouragement of manufactures.

Such, he said, had been the policy of parliament for fifty years past, during which time they had granted, for the purposes he had mentioned, sums which would be equal to the national debt, and the consequences have been, that our lands within that period have trebled in value; that our linen manufacture is no longer confined to a single province; that our fisheries are become a great branch of trade; and that agriculture, with her attendants, population and plenty, had spread herself indiscriminately through every part of the kingdom. Those are the effects of the well-timed liberality of former parliaments. Had they listened, on the contrary, to the narrow dictates of timid parsimony, the country would have continued in the same deplorable state that it was at the beginning of that period; but happily for us, their views were enlarged, and we owe the present flourishing state of the kingdom to the causes that have produced the debt of the nation. But the obvious tendency of this resolution is to put a stop to further improvements, by withdrawing those bounties which nourish and support them.

It has hitherto been also the policy of parliament to prevent any competition between their bounties and the expences of government, by providing amply for both; but if by a resolution of this nature you compel his Majesty's ministers to reduce the charges of the establishments, which if they were not considered as proper and necessary would not have been established, on account of a deficiency in the revenue, this will lead them to enquire into the causes of that deficiency, and the first object that will meet them, in looking into the public accounts, is, a deduction of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year out of his Majesty's hereditary revenue, for the payment of bounties; and if you call upon them to reduce the establishments of the crown, a part of which only is defrayed by the supplies granted by this House, they will consider themselves justly entitled to call upon you to reduce your bounties, the whole of which are paid out of his Majesty's hereditary revenue.

He then reminded the House that except that for the land-carriage of corn, the whole of the bounties depended on temporary laws, and that within a few years it would be in the power of government to transfer 80,000*l.* a year from the bounties of parliament to the establishments of the crown; that no danger of this kind could possibly be apprehended under the present administration, but that we might not always be blest with a chief governor so attentive to our welfare; and that therefore he could not hazard, by agreeing to this resolution, a discontinuance of the bounties so essential to the improvement of the kingdom.

Mr. FORBES.—Since I had the honour of a seat in parliament, I do not recollect any question in the decision of which the character of this House depended so much as on the present. The new taxes of 140,000*l.* were voted last session, not on a conviction of an existing capacity in this nation to bear such an additional burden, but from a confidence that the system contained in the eleven propositions, must procure such a considerable extension of our trade, must meliorate our condition to such a degree, and so strengthen our resources, as to enable us to bear these additional taxes without inconvenience or distress; but these propositions have taken their departure from this kingdom, and are gone to that country from whose bourn no traveller returns. Nothing has been left behind but the same incapacity to bear those heavy taxes which existed in 1784. When I say nothing has been left behind but incapacity to bear taxes, I should recollect that our constitution remains. A worthy and diligent officer of this House has furnished us with a chart of our revenue—I consider it as a map of our territory, and when I recollect the events of last session, and look on that chart, I feel a mixture of apprehension and gratitude for the danger we have escaped; what an extent of territory were we near losing? what a dominion have we saved? I congratulate this House on our still being possessed of the original efficient power of controuling the purse of the nation, not fettered by covenants, not embarrassed by conditions; our rights not entangled in the web of legal subtlety, or political sophistry; nor our commerce encumbered with final settlements, or even optional agreements.

The ground on which the 140,000*l.* were voted last session, was to equalise the expences of the nation to its revenues; but the finance minister has not attempted to state that even this encroachment of taxes will effect equalisation: but the contrary; for he has stated that next year our expences will exceed our revenues. He has not even pledged himself for economy—he has only promised excess. When he was called on to bring forward a measure of economy, he very candidly stated that he was not the Irish government, or in other words, that the minister of

finance in Ireland, had not strength sufficient to regulate or effect the due administration of the finances. But admitting that it had been stated that these new taxes would equalise our revenues to our expences, is it not our duty before we impose such heavy burdens on the people, to examine whether there are any articles of public expenditure which could be abolished? And in order to decide on the question, let us consider what have been the arguments advanced in support of the present heavy burdens on the establishment.

It has been seriously stated from the treasury bench, that considerable savings on the military establishment are the natural and inevitable consequences of war; but the minister has forgot to state the savings on the civil establishment in time of peace. The civil establishment in this kingdom is most unfortunately circumstanced, for while, according to the minister's statement, the military establishment enjoys that quiet, respite, and relaxation inseparable from a state of war, the civil establishment incurs expences, and experiences relief neither in peace or war. During the course of the last war, I remember, on a motion for retrenchment, [by Mr. Grattan] the minister of the day told us such motions in the time of war was improper, as they tended to raise dissatisfaction; that peace was the proper season; that it would be ungrateful in Ireland, respecting Great Britain, to adopt such systems; so that between gratitude in war, and acquiescence and confidence in peace, we are never to have any retrenchment. It reminds me of a saying of Mr. Townshend, at a time when numbers of petitions were presenting by the different counties and cities in England: He said that neither peace or war were proper seasons for the people to petition—not a war, as it would interrupt the minister in the conduct of his military operations; nor peace, as it would disturb that tranquillity so necessary for the relief of the country. Another justification of the exceedings of the establishments, is the custom-house, that great unwieldy edifice, that hangs like a cloud over the exceedings of our civil establishment, in order to conceal their deformity and defeat their investigation; a measure which could have no other recommendation to ministers, but its abuse. As there is no peevish opposition this session, as gentlemen on all sides have shewn an inclination to co-operate in doing the public business, as there is no war carried on by this side of the House, the minister should reduce his troops on the other side to a peace establishment. But after these 140,000*l.* taxes are voted, let us suppose our constituents to ask us for what cause we imposed on them these additional burdens? They ask naturally is it to support a war, to build a navy, or establish colonies? We must answer, no—but to support in the first place a pension list of 94,000*l.*—4000*l.* more than in England. They will ask, have the persons on that list rendered the

public any service? We must answer that many of them by age or sex, most of them from principle and inclination, are incapacitated from so doing. What then must be the cause? We answer, to support the honour and dignity of government. They ask, after military establishment, lord lieutenant, judges, and some other obvious charges, what can be the other charges for support of the dignity of government? We must answer, the constable of Carrickfergus, the custom of Youghall, the searcher of Strangford, and the comptroller of Dingle-lough.

I am happy to find that even an attempt to justify the excess of the establishments, excites ridicule and laughter. I trust, therefore, that no man will hesitate to give his vote for this motion. If so many items of the establishment are so exceptionable that they cannot be justified; if there are so many appointments on the civil list, which every man must admit ought to be abolished, how urgent and strong must the necessity be for adopting the measure proposed, as a means to prevent the increase and multiplication of such burdens on our establishment.

By the resolution of last session we established a principle that the annual revenues ought to be equalised to the annual expences. If we go no farther, we have established a principle ruinous to the commercial and landed interest of this country; we have laid the foundation for such an increase of taxes as will effect a more rapid depression of this country than even a perseverance in the former practice of the accumulation of debt. We must complete our work, and in order to establish a system of economy, adopt this resolution, and thereby make the obligation reciprocal on the minister and the parliament; the minister must confine his expences within the amount of the income raised to the extent of his own demands. It is absolutely necessary to adopt some measures to stop the growth of expence, if we wish to preserve our lands from taxation. The experience of the new taxes of last session has proved, that unless we resort to our lands, or intend to ruin our trade, we are arrived at nearly a final period of taxation; for by the tax on licences we established a principle for taxing the necessaries of life. The minister of England began by such a tax; afterwards he imposed taxes directly and heavily on the necessaries of life; and the present minister has added to that system a shop tax. In a country circumstanced like this, where the quantity of circulating specie is inconsiderable, a tax on the necessaries of life, by enhancing their price, must operate like a scarcity; and by raising the price of labour, must crush our infant manufactures. But gentlemen argue, that by this resolution we bind the hands of government, and disable them from providing for emergencies, as war, for instance. In case a war should happen, could we impose taxes on the necessaries of life or the land? and we have nothing else left. Would

it contribute to promote that union among the people, necessary to enable us to repel foreign invasion, to render the people discontented with government, by an encrease of the public burdens? Or would the oppression of the landed interest, by a tax, the better enable that interest to support a protestant government against its assailants? This country is not to be defended by taxes. The experience of the last war has convinced us, that we must rely on the spirit, and not the taxation of the people, for support. But if the minister will not give us this measure, let him consent to our having the same security as England against the encrease of the influence of the crown; let us have the amount of our pension list limited, useless offices suppressed, acts passed for preventing arrears of the civil list, for simplifying the collection and disbursements of the public money. Will the minister of Ireland, the delegate of Mr. Pitt, neither give us Mr. Pitt's reform in representation nor finance? If the minister of England has any virtues, his delegate here endeavours, under their splendour, to conceal his own defects, and to gain a false credit with the public. Are we, in this kingdom, to be prevented from adopting any of those salutary measures of economy?

Are we to be prohibited by the minister from relieving our establishments from any of those burdens which are the vices of former administrations, and their continuance the reproach of the present? Are we to abstain from the touch of them, as if they were sacred, and to regard and revere those instruments of public corruption as monuments of individual merit, or records of upright government? But if parliament will not interpose to abolish those places, they must, they cannot refuse to prevent their increase; and of course the growth of taxes, which if not restrained, I will repeat it, must soon fall on the land. I will suppose a future minister should argue thus:—What has disappointed former English ministers in this country? The virtue, power, and weight of the landed interest of Ireland, overbalancing the influence of the crown. By a resolution of the commons in 1785, a principle is established, that the revenues should be raised to the expences, without limitation on the minister; as to the amount of those expences, I will avail myself of this—I will increase without bounds, pensions and employments; all other subjects of taxation soon exhausted, I will fall on the land, and between the increased influence of the crown, and the depressed state of the landed gentry, I shall be enabled to wreak my vengeance on the landed interests, the former barrier of the people's rights. I will harass it to such a degree that they will be reduced to the necessity of consenting to an union, in order to obtain a limitation of tax, as in Scotland. Every good minister must wish for a measure like the present; it will stop the growth of demand against him; it will proscribe corrupt influence and

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servile dependance. When any application is made to a minister to impose burdens on the establishment in favour of an individual, he may refer him to the resolution of the House of Commons—a measure calculated to defend in future a good minister from corrupt importunity, and to restrain a bad minister, by something little short of legal incapacity.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE.—The motion made by the right honourable member, the result of so honourable a motive, and has for its object so desirable an end, that gentlemen who oppose the mode of interposition may be represented as unfriendly to the principle it pursues. However, they must rely for their vindication on the force of their arguments, and trust their character to the candour of the House and the justice of the nation. I well know economy in government is a return—a debt due to the liberality of parliament. A just application of the public money is a duty which the crown owes to the people who supply it; but though it is a duty that cannot be controverted, the exercise of it cannot be confined under the bondage of such a resolution as that now proposed. The resolution enjoins, “That the expences of the nation should be confined to her annual income;” that is, in all times and circumstances, let whatever exigencies or circumstances happen, whether of foreign attack or domestic disturbance, whether the revenues should rise or fall; in all events that the crown should be bound by the admonition of parliament not to exceed the annual income of the nation. It is the duty of government to make the income of the nation the general measure of its expences. It is what every rational man thinks, and what every faithful counsellor would advise; but if you agree to that resolution, you conclude the crown in all events, in all circumstances; you deprive the crown of that degree of discretion with which the constitution has invested it, and which may be necessary for the safety of the state or the honour of government. He said that the constitution requires these confidential trusts in the crown, and has placed in parliament a controul over the abuse of these trusts. That the Lord Lieutenant in his speech from the throne, had inculcated the very doctrine this resolution professes. That as this resolution was exceptionable, so was it unnecessary, as the first resolution contained the whole import of the second, and the first had received the unanimous approbation of the House. That if the evil complained of was the accumulation of debt and the encrease of taxes, it was somewhat particular that this interposition should be made in the only session within our memory almost in which neither a new loan nor a new tax were applied for. It was making a stand against an evil when it stops its progress; it was applying medicines when the disorder had ceased. It was like calling the righteous, and not sinners to repentance. He combated the position that the new taxes of last

session were a consideration for commercial advantages; that he knew of no such covenant, nor of any parties competent to make such. Whilst a system of commercial advantages was agitated, a proposition was made here and accompanied it, to prevent the accumulation of debt, by making the annual revenues equal to the annual expences—a measure standing on its own basis—independent of the system—equally eligible if the system were adopted or not; nay, more so perhaps, if you do not adopt a system that would have enlarged your resources, because it is less madness in a man to run in debt who has a rising estate, than one who has not. That we could not justify ourselves to our constituents if we made a positive grant for an ungranted benefit, nor had any body authority so to ensure the success of the system as to accept the consideration beforehand. As to the insinuations that were thrown out against the commercial bill, he begged to express a different sentiment; that his humble talents and subordinate situation placed him so far from the councils and confidence of government, that he might speak his own opinion without involving any interference concerning the sentiments of others. He thought of it now as he did last session, that it would be advantageous to commerce, and inoffensive to constitution; and the objections all went to the preliminary propositions and not to the bill itself. However, it is now at rest—*requiescat in pace*—and if he were to speak his own wish, he would add, *firma spe beate resurrectionis*. It sleeps to be awakened only by the general call, when it would appear justified, and he was confident (if he might be allowed the expression) it would rise again if ever there should come a day of judgment in that House. He begged only to be allowed to drop a tear on the tomb of a friend. If the honourable member thought it unfriendly or inimical to this country, he was in the right to triumph in its fall—he might “call on Tully’s name, and hail the father of his country, for it was prostrate in the dust.”

Mr. CORRY said he perfectly agreed with those who had stated the present question to be one of great magnitude: Far above any measure of economy, it was a question upon a principle of economy; whether or not such a principle was to be infused into our constitution, was now to be determined. It was not a measure which related to present extravagance, but a principle which was to descend down the stream of time for the happiness of ourselves and for the aggrandizement of our posterity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the principle acceded to on the grant of the new taxes last year, applied to that year alone, but that the ground of the grant of the same taxes this year was different, being merely that of the exigency of the year, and totally unconnected with the principle voted last year. The right honourable member had also stated, that the ministry were about to under-

take the government of the country with a revenue falling in its produce, but which they hoped would rise so as to answer their necessities. The first of these positions he thought sufficiently shewed the necessity of the proposed resolution, but when added to the second, there could remain no doubt of its being indispensably requisite. With respect to the latter, he said he was something surprized at the mode of calculating the fall of the revenue, and would take the liberty of making some remarks upon it; in doing which, he must beg leave to controvert another position of the right honourable member, that the report of the committee of accounts had passed without remark, since he must put him in mind that he [Mr. Corry] had moved some resolutions in the committee which were negatived, and that he had afterwards given notice on the report, that he should move to have that report taken into consideration on a subsequent day. With respect to the finance of the country, he begged the patience of the House while he should state a few facts that would point out the progress of their debts, their expences and their revenues; it was wise, he said, sometimes to look back; observation on things past, he said, was the meaning of the word experience; it was to live over again in half an hour years past, it was to see our errors and our faults, and it was to furnish ourselves with the means of remedying them in time to come: For this purpose he would offer to the House a short comparison on some principal heads of finance for the last ten years. He then went into a comparison of the expences on the civil and military establishments, pensions, exceedings, concordatum, military contingencies, barracks, king's letters, revenues, taxes, &c. at the different periods of 1775, 1780, 1785, and of the estimates made for the year up to March, 1787, shewing the great encrease of expence on every article, the encrease of taxes and debt at each of those succellive periods, and the general state of the present time. He proceeded to remark upon the statement made of the taxes up to March, 1787, which had been stated as to produce the same amount as the produce of the year up to March, 1786; they had not been rightly calculated, he said, for the year 1786; for the Chancellor of the Exchequer in stating the produce of that year had pursued this method: The produce of the half year up to Michaelmas, 1785, was known, and was stated by the right honourable gentleman; but the produce of the half year from Michaelmas, 1785, to March, 1786, was estimated for a less amount, because, said the right honourable gentleman, I will take it at the amount of the corresponding half year in the last year's accounts, not as equal to the past half year in the present year's accounts. The reason of this, the right honourable gentleman had not stated, and he therefore supposed it proceeded from goodness of disposition, which made him willing to give his friends

in the administration the greatest merit he could bestow, insinuating that economy must supply the place of revenue; but though he approved of that intention, he must dissent from the reasoning. Why was not the half year up to Michaelmas, 1785, compared with the corresponding half year in the last half year's account, to shew its increase, which was great? Or, if not then, why was that mode adopted for the other half year, by which its estimated produce was lowered? Or, why was not the mode adopted which had been in use hitherto, and particularly last year made use of by the minister who then filled that department, on whose ability and authority, he said, he thought he could rely, and therefore when he considered the new mode he could not help thinking it fallacious, and the reasoning founded on it false. Here he observed the House took notice of something, and finding what it was, said he never could apply the terms false or fallacious to the right honourable baronet's intentions, but he did to his argument and calculation merely; he meant that it was unfounded and misconceived when he said fallacious and false; but as for his character and intentions he entertained the sincerest respect for them. He thought himself, therefore, at liberty, on his part, to state how the estimate would be in the mode used last year, and shew that by that it would appear that instead of a defalcation of revenues, there was a surplus of net revenue remaining, supposing the new taxes not to encrease; but that they would increase, the right honourable gentleman has allowed himself, and therefore, he said, the surplus of revenue must be considerable indeed, and he therefore could not assent to the merit assumed of undertaking the business of the country with a falling revenue, in the extent it had been stated. He went into a detail of figures to prove this, and shew the amount of the excess. It was, however, high time, whatever were the merits of government, for parliament to speak economy; if the retrospect to our own history did not sufficiently prove this, let us look round to the other nations of the world; Spain, with all her treasures, laboured under her debt; Holland, with all her industry, groaned under her debt; France, with all her resources, sunk even to bankruptcy under her debt; and Great Britain, in the adult vigour of ingenuity and arts, staggered under her debt; to Ireland alone it was competent to turn over with advantage the page of historical experience, and profit by the example of other nations; let her be wise then betimes. Of the two political phenomena which have attracted the wonder of mankind in our own day, the nativity of the American, and the regeneration of the Irish constitution, how different are the fates?—America, worn down by her contests, scarcely supports a poor and painful existence, while Ireland bursts forth with an energetic vigour, which wants only, to render it permanent, the wholesome nurture of a timely economy—That task is yours—if ever there

was a situation worthy the ambition of a man, it is that of the ministry of this country, and particularly of the right honourable minister at the head of the finance; to them it is entrusted to form an untouched country fruitful in soil, genial in climate; whose people are full of every generous feeling, and every capacity of attaining the height of happiness to be derived from industry; to them is entrusted the forming of such a country and such a people; their system of politics, of finance and of trade. Let the right honourable gentleman take parliament with him, and with parliament at his back, he may steadfastly look in the face the proudest stranger who comes to govern us, to dissipate our treasure, or to burden our prosperity; this resolution will aid him and the other servants of the crown to refuse compliance with a minister who may propose a system of public profusion; if such a minister should come, not equal to the unparalleled perfection of the present minister—or if one equal to him in perfection should hereafter arrive, it will aid that minister to refuse compliance with the desires of those who with more interest in the prosperity of the country, may have less regard than himself to its economy. But let not the minister, by refusing us the establishment of this principle of economy, be so barbarous as to deprive us of the only advantage arising from the poverty and the thralldom of centuries. Deprived by the mistaken policy of a formerly hard sister, of the name of a nation, of the blessings of nature, of industry, of riches, one only solitary advantage could result to this country; we did not, because we could not heap up the ruin of debt—Do not let him now be barbarous enough to deprive us of the only benefit of that poverty inflicted by his country; but suffer us to rise at length into happiness, to attain the means of aiding the prosperity of the empire, and to prove to a repenting sister, that her interest and her glory are dear to Ireland as her own.

Mr. GRATTAN.—Sir, the motion before you is very near a self-evident proposition—that a nation, after a great exertion to raise her revenues, ought not to exceed them.—I differ from those gentlemen who deny that the new taxes were granted in consideration of commercial advantages; commerce was held forth the last session as one of the compensations; to stop the progress of debt, was the other; but if any man doubts whether commercial advantages were in contemplation of the new taxes, look to the eleven resolutions, and let the record determine; there you will find the resolution for the taxes a part of the new system of commerce; the new taxes there evidently appear to have been asked on the credit of new commercial advantages, which were supposed likely to generate a new ability to bear them; and as a further inducement, these taxes were also recommended by the stipulation of putting a stop to the further accumulation of debt.

Here then were held out two compensations, trade and economy ; neither were to exist in promise, but both were to form part of your laws : accordingly, by the eleventh proposition, the surplus of hereditary revenue was to make up home deficiency before it could be applied to the navy of Great Britain, and the English minister could not obtain Irish money, unless he became an Irish economist !—Here was a self-operative principle of economy established, not in confidence, but in law ; this was the idea of the resolutions ; and even the commercial bill, which does in some measure betray that idea, does stipulate for economy, and provides that this House should in future proceed by estimate, and that when government exceeded, the excess should fall on the English fund. Thus the new taxes were to be accompanied with two compensations, trade and economy ; the first compensation is withdrawn. I do not enquire now whether the bill of the right honourable member was good or bad. I continue to think it execrable—but certainly it was not the condition held out, or the trade that was offered in the original propositions. You have lost one compensation, the trade ; and the question is now, whether you will lose the other, economy ? When gentlemen agreed to the first resolution this night proposed, that it was necessary to stop the further accumulation of debt, I suppose them to have been sincere, that they meant it not as a vile excuse for granting new taxes, but as the principle of the grant. I enter into the spirit of that principle, and affirm that the best method of securing its operation is to vote the second resolution. For the mere and unqualified increase of taxes, does not prevent, but rather encourages the growth of debt, for it encourages the growth of expence ; it is an amnesty to past, and a spur to future profusion, as if a father should say to his son—I will pay all your extravagance by way of discouragement.—This general observation applies to this country with peculiar force, because in this country there are peculiar causes of extravagance.

You have two administrations, that of Ireland, and that of Great Britain ; and of course a double patronage, and a two-fold authority to load your establishment ; moreover, you have no appropriation of funds in Ireland, as there is in Great Britain ; and not having a special, you should surely have a general limitation—again, we have no Irish cabinet—individuals may deprecate, may dissuade, but they cannot enforce their principles—there is no embodied authority in Ireland.

Again, your government constantly fluctuates ; your viceroys change every day—men of different parties and different principles, faithful to private engagement, but not bound to any uniform public system ; again, you have no decided responsibility in Ireland—the objects of your inquest might not be easily found ; in short, you have in this country the misfortune of a double

administration, a double importunity, a fluctuating government, and a fugacious responsibility.

But if you have any doubt, whether under these particular circumstances, the mere supply or growth of tax will prevent the growth of debt, turn to history—I have heard of a nation in a situation similar to yours at this very period, a nation, who, wearied and exhausted by a disgraceful accumulation of debt in profound peace, determined to put an end to the pernicious practice, paid off all her arrears, and raised her taxes to the estimate of her expences; but forgot one precaution, the precaution of checking the growth of expence, as one essential means of stopping the further accumulation of debt—Behold the consequence! in eleven years she doubled her debt, and multiplied all her expences.—You are that nation.—You did in 1773, agree to put an end to the pernicious practice of running in debt; you paid off five half years arrears to answer that end; you raised your taxes above 100,000*l.* a year to answer that end, and you took the minister's word for the further securing that object, and accordingly you have since that time doubled your debt, and you have besides borrowed above 700,000*l.* in life annuities, and you have likewise added more to your expences than the estimated amount of the new taxes.

Figures are irksome to this House—I shall therefore present you with a picture of your race of expence; behold the map of your policy, delineated by a very ingenious man, with talents and accuracy.

See the chart of your credit, an evanescent speck just rising above the plane of the horizon, and then it drops; while your debt ascends like a pyramid, with an audacious defalcation, and almost culminates in your meridian.—Midway of this mountain of debt, you will discern a line marking your effort to put an end to the practice of running in debt.—It is not necessary for a man to read, it is sufficient for him to see in order to refute the honourable and right honourable gentlemen on this subject.

From this experience then, as well as from general principles, I would infer, that if you mean to stop the growth of debt, it is necessary to stop the growth of expence. It has been said, this is making a covenant with government to live within its income. I say it is so; and I add that a nation giving to her government 140,000*l.* new taxes, has a right to insist on such a covenant.—Talk as you please, she approaches you on this occasion, with the authority and superiority of a creditor and benefactor—she is not reduced to supplicate, but warranted to demand economy.

Government made her own estimate of revenue and of expence; the nation left both to her discretion—say what you want and you shall have it; but when you have got it, live upon it—

the commercial interest of this country is to be advanced; let us on that encouragement meet at once our domestic difficulties—a generous country pardons past profusion—come to an account with her—state your wants, and state your taxes. This was the idea of the parliament; and the question now is, whether government is to be limited by all the revenues she held, to be sufficient for all the expences she held; To be necessary, in short, whether in ordinary years, there shall be in the kingdom of Ireland, any such thing as limitation at all, in the management of the public purse? to so plain a principle of political salvation; to a principle so particularly applicable to a nation governed by viceroys from another country—a principle rendered so necessary by the habits of importunity—a principle enforced by the experience of every year's debt, and admitted by the inward conviction of every man who hears me. What objection is made? What bar can you suppose is advanced? Would you believe it? Could any man conceive it? The objection is, that no one Lord Lieutenant can bind or answer for his successors; here is admitted, that very jargon, that very disarrangement of council, that very irresponsibility of government, which we all lament; and on which gentlemen on the other side rely, and demand of you for that very reason, to entrust the purse of the public, to the faith of this discordancy of succession. We are not to impose restrictions by parliament, because we cannot rely on the continuance or uniformity of the councils of government: To private engagements, however expensive, faithful indeed! But with regard to public maxims, transient! Here is their argument! The infirmity of our situation, which should induce your caution, is gravely urged as the infallible argument against your interferency. Strange as this argument is, it yields in extravagance to another grave objection which immediately followed it; an objection which affirmed that you ought not to limit your government in its income, because its expences must rise—The very evil itself, the thing we dread! We fear their expences will rise—we fear the encrease of your taxes will encourage those expences—we apprehend that government will not meet us half way, so that economy on their side, may aid the new grants on yours, and secure us against the growth of future taxes, and future debts. To quiet these fears, we are told in perfect seriousness, that our expences must encrease—You need not be afraid, you may be certain of the danger—This argument which threatened us with an encrease of our expence, is attended with another, which threatens with the decrease of our revenue. What a strange image must those gentlemen have of the possible state of this country! and what a much more strange provision do they make for such a conjuncture! Your expences must increase, and your revenue may fail; and in contemplation of such an event, you ought not to limit your expenditure to

your income. Eventful inability is urged as an argument against restraining the growth of your incumbrances, and the possible diminution of your expence. However, Sir, this prophecy, I imagine, has but little foundation, no more than the argument gentlemen construct upon it—the revenue of this country must rise—You have taken care of that by your new grants—the wealth of this country must increase—nothing can prevent the growth of her riches, but the growth of her taxes. I would ask those gentlemen, who omen the decrease of your revenues, was it not themselves who made the estimates, both of revenues and expences? And when pressed to limit themselves to their own estimates, do they not now gravely tell us, that you cannot depend on either: It seems they rest the strength of their argument on the ruins of the credit of their estimates, in direct contradiction to this argument. But in opposition to this resolution, the same gentlemen, with the same conviction, affirm that the wealth of this country will encrease most exceedingly. Here the prospect changes for the sake of the argument; and instead of a declining, you are represented as a prosperous and rising state; your manufactures are to increase most exceedingly; but then your bounties are to encrease also, and your revenues by such a deduction are to fall. Gentlemen won't see that the encrease of manufactures, the increase of export and of wealth, must have a general operation; and if they add to the charge of your bounties, must in a much greater proportion add to the revenues. No, no, say gentlemen, the increase of manufactures, the general sale of their goods at home, and a thriving export, are the natural causes of the ruin of the revenue. It seems in Ireland the revenues are destroyed by the wealth of the nation. From a position at once so ignorant and so ludicrous, gentlemen proceed to their great hold, the main strength of their cause, and exclaim, what! limit government to its income the very year in which his Majesty's ministers have not applied for a vote of credit!—I meet the strength of their argument. I say, yes, this very year. I waive the advantage I possess in the general principle, that in ordinary years the state should be restrained by its own estimates of expence and revenue. I waive the additional advantage I have in the application of this principle to the particular circumstances, habits, and dispositions of this country. I waive also the other sad advantage which my argument has in the experimental knowledge of the progress of your expence. I meet the gentlemen in the strength of their argument, and say that we ought to limit the growth of expence this very year in which you have not been called upon for a vote credit. Yes, this very year when we have granted above 140,000*l.* on no compensation but the hope to stop the growth of debt and expence. This very year, in which we buy economy by our taxes, or get nothing. This very year

in which we perceive symptoms of departing from that economy. See your accounts. On a comparative view of the estimates for 1786 with the expences for 1784, your civil list has encreased above 23,000*l.* per annum; your military list has encreased about 80,000*l.* and your concordatum exceeding above 12,000*l.* Without a wish to criminate (for a question of this sort is too high either for reflection or panegyric) I ask are not these symptoms sufficient to induce this House, when it continues the new grants, in order to stop the growth of debt, to take some precaution to check the career of expence; the danger of adding to the pension list, of adding to the salaries of officers, and of such unavailing, heedless, and improvident donations. In the course of this debate, we are reminded and checked by another argument that exclaims, your bounties! your bounties! parliamentary grants, your public jobs, these are a great cause of the growth of your debt and encrease of your expences; as if the public was eated because the government was not the only hand that heaped burden upon her back. What, are there then so many different causes? so many pretences all combining to encrease our expences? From hence I argue for, and the gentlemen against a resolution of restraint; the complication of disorders it seems, to them, is a reason against the remedy.

I admire the unfeigned zeal with which those gentlemen espouse the cause of the manufacturers; but I cannot forget their discretion when they at the opening of the session limited the sum to be granted to them, by a resolution which had restrained your grant, and precluded all manufactures which had not the last year partaken of the bounty. When these manufacturers, the objects of their compassion, are under your consideration, with great discretion and jealousy they discern the necessity of putting some limits, by resolution, to that species of bounty, but when afterwards the same rule is proposed to be applied to themselves, when it is proposed to limit the expence of government, no, say the friends of ministers, don't impose on us such a rule, or the absolute necessity of living within income—pity the poor manufacturers—have some regard to the infant state of your country—don't preclude those various meritorious claimants, (whom they themselves have precluded already.)

Sir, that principle which government applied to manufactures, I would apply to themselves. I would have the obligation of economy to run along with the new grants; I would have it the preamble of the bill, and the annual condition of its renewal, that the secretary might carry in his pocket the condition of the grant as an answer to solicitation; that he might say to the importunate—Sir you have claims—your reliance on our economy gives you just pretensions to expect public money, but our hands are bound—here is the act of parliament.—This would save the right honourable gentleman the fear of offending, and the trouble of thinking. Sir, in

the course of these objections, gentlemen have not forgotten to insist on the possibility of unforeseen exigencies as a reason against an obligation on the Irish minister in ordinary years to confine himself to his own estimate of expence and revenue. I believe the English constitution does not warrant the objection—extraordinary emergencies (another word for reasons of state) should not be set up as a pretence for extraordinary powers in the crown. This principle is peculiarly applicable to the case of money, therefore it was that ship-money was held illegal, though it was insisted that the crown should have a power of levying money in great emergency; the same principle which condemns the practice of unforeseen emergency in support of a latitude to lay the foundation of taxes without the consent of parliament, by the reserved power of exceeding income.

Sir, this objection of unforeseen emergencies is peculiarly unreasonable now, because it happens to be falsified by his Majesty's speech from the throne, which felicitates his people on the prospect of complete tranquillity. Had gentlemen any reason to apprehend any danger, foreign or domestic, war or rebellion, I suppose they would have taken some precautions; but I ask what is there in the general complexion of the times? What is there in your sequestered situation to justify this pretence of unforeseen emergency?—this affectation of state mystery? A latitude not for exertion, but expence. What wars have you to wage? What enemies have you to overwhelm? Against whom do you point the thunder of your arms? No, no, your emergencies are of a different kind—the gentle solicitation, the fond importunity, and the kind reply on the subject of public money—These are your wars, these are your emergencies—Who would have imagined to have seen in the course of this debate, that faded cockade of the castle, *confidence*, advanced on the side of the court—confidence in the Irish minister in the uncontrolled expenditure of Irish money—What, after all your experience, to prefer confidence to this resolution, requires, in my opinion, a most robust conscience and a most infirm understanding. Desirous as we all are to pay every respect, and with every predilection in favour of our present viceroy, a young man of a very noble unsuspicious nature, exposed perhaps to much importunity; yet who can answer for his continuance? This confidence then must extend to all his successors, whoever they be, of whatever cast, party, principle, or capacity—But even that won't do. This confidence must extend to all the secretaries of all the future lord lieutenants. In the last seven years we had seven lord lieutenants and eight secretaries. The confidence must then be extended to the lords and commons of Great Britain, or rather to the king's commission, on a pure and perfect persuasion that whom the king shall appoint the lord illuminates, and where the purse is bestowed, there is the virtue and

there is the economy.—This will not do ; it is not sufficient that viceroys should be gods—Irishmen must be angels, and importunity and solicitation cease ; and in that event I submit to the force of the argument of confidence, as something not according to reason, but above it.

I have troubled you long, but before I sit down I must observe, that the success of your manufactures is much interested in this motion. Gentlemen are not to be informed that the great commercial resources which Ireland possesses is not capital, but a comparative exemption from the weight of taxes. The encrease of your expences must operate therefore as a diminution of your commercial resources, and not only encrease the undue influence of the British minister in the Irish parliament, but hinder the competition of the Irish manufacturer in his own market. The nature of the new taxes tends the rather to excite the apprehension, because some of these taxes are registers ; taxes on licences to sell leather, soap, candles, &c. being in themselves of very small product, I fear them as a key to a more general taxation, and the more earnestly do I wish, therefore, to stop the growth of expence. I think this is a good opportunity ; for I think the new grants give you a right to insist on establishing a great principle of economy. When we make new grants, let us make points for Ireland ; and while we are generous to the crown, let us pay some attention to the interest of the people. Do not let any man suppose that the point of stopping the further accumulation of debt is gained already, because you are not called on for a loan for 1786 ; the reason being, that you borrowed 200,000*l.* in 1785, and that you got one half year's produce of the new taxes. I make no doubt that the resolution, though rejected to night, will have a good effect. The principle must be carried. Government must at least live within its income, but then it is to such exertions, and to the urging such resolutions, you must attribute such an event.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Sir, had I now come down to the House for the first time this session, I should imagine, from the oration I have heard, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had just proposed new and oppressive taxes ; that he was endeavouring to plunge the nation farther into debt by new loans. I never could have imagined that a conduct directly opposite had been adopted, or that he had come to parliament with the information that the destructive system of running in debt was at an end, and that government had the satisfaction of being able to undertake the expences of the state without laying new burdens on the people.

Sir, every man agrees that economy is necessary ; the principle which has been contended for with so much eloquent and

pointed zeal is admitted—the resolution already passed declares the unanimous sense of the House upon this subject.

Sir, I take leave to controvert, in the first instance, the proposition assumed by the right honourable gentleman—I utterly deny that the grant of 140,000*l.* in taxes, was made as a compensation for commercial benefits which we had in view at the time; and when the right honourable gentleman makes a contrary assertion, I will recall to his memory some facts which will be his refutation. The right honourable gentleman himself was the man who proposed an alteration in the first proposition: His argument was that the nation might accumulate debt at home, at the time when we were remitting great sums of the public money to England.

Mr. GRATTAN.—Sir, the new taxes were not my idea, nor my measure. I originally deprecated the idea of payment to Great Britain. Failing in that, I insisted that no surplus should go to England unless the expences of Ireland were previously discharged; and on no other condition would I support the original resolutions. In that I succeeded: But there was a new resolution added—the resolution of the new taxes, which was not mine, and which I never knew of, and never saw until I came into the House a few hours before it was mentioned. That resolution was not mine, but was forced in by others, without my knowledge or consultation.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I do not find that the right honourable gentleman has explained himself upon this subject with his usual accuracy; his idea was to vote taxes which should equalize the revenue of the nation to her expences, to the end that the public debt might not accumulate; and his argument was, that if we were to become a commercial people we should guard against the accumulation of debt; because by so doing, the circulating money of the country would necessarily increase, and therefore he voted the additional taxes. But, Sir, I have only to read the resolution which has just now passed without a dissenting voice, and the right honourable gentleman will there again find his resolution. The purpose for which these taxes were granted is there explicitly stated to be to put an end to the accumulation of national debt; I trust, therefore, we will hear no more from the right honourable gentleman upon this subject.—The principle of avoiding the growth of debt was then established, and accordingly we find in the speech from the throne, and upon every occasion which has since occurred, that it is adopted as a maxim of government; therefore when the right honourable gentleman exclaims so loudly about profusion and extravagance, he is unfounded in fact and in inference; and when he so strongly presses public economy upon us, his zeal and his eloquence are unnecessary. Government have adopted the principle he is anxious to

inculcate, and his second resolution, the sovereign panacea which is to cure every defect in finance, even if it were not frivolous and inefficient on the face of it, becomes superfluous. But I beg gentlemen will attend to this talisman—this spell—this charm which is to drive away and disperse all the goblins which the gentleman has raised in the exuberance of his fancy. How is it worded?—So long as the taxes of last year will be continued, the expences of the nation shall not exceed her revenues. What is the necessary deduction? Why, so soon as one of them is withdrawn the government may set off in the old career of profusion and extravagance—give us up the new taxes and you may accumulate debt as fast as you please, whereas the first resolution admits the principle which the right honourable gentleman so warmly inculcates in its fullest extent.

The right honourable gentleman says that we are subject to the extravagancies of two courts, and to the rapacity of two sets of ministers. He says that the lord lieutenant cannot answer for his successor, and that we may have lord lieutenants, who may be of different parties in England. I am extremely sorry that experience has justified this last observation—I lament that Ireland in one instance had the meanness and folly to suffer her councils to be influenced by English party; but I trust I never shall again be a witness to a conduct so ruinous and disgraceful to my country.

The right honourable gentleman ridicules in very pointed terms an argument that certainly did not come from this side of the House—He ridicules the argument that no lord lieutenant can bind his successor. But, Sir, he will please to recollect the argument is his own—he cannot forget fugacious responsibility, as he quaintly termed it—and he cannot forget that the argument had been given to us before in plain English by a gentleman who sits above him, [Mr. Forbes] so that the right honourable gentleman has thrown away a great store of very splendid language, to answer objections which he himself has made. I shall therefore take leave of this part of the right honourable gentleman's argument, and of his reply to it, without further observation.

It has been said that as our prosperity increases, our expences in the article of bounties will necessarily increase; and see how the right honourable gentleman has perverted his argument:—He states the argument to be, that as taxes increase, expences will increase; and then he proceeds to assert that as our bounties increase the revenue must rise, whereas the reverse is the truth. The exportation of linens tend much to national wealth and national prosperity; it also increases the public expence in bounties, but does it increase the public revenue?

The bounties given on the sale of home manufactures tend much to increase national wealth and national prosperity; they also very much increase the public expence; but they diminish in a

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very great degree the revenue, by stopping importation; so that just in proportion as this head of public expence increases, the revenue is diminished. And gentlemen will please to recollect, that from the papers on your table it appears that bounties have increased in the last half year 52,000*l*.

The right honourable gentleman ridicules the idea of unforeseen exigencies, and is extremely displeased that we do not lay before the House an account of what these unforeseen exigencies are. The right honourable gentleman is extremely angry with a minister who cannot see unforeseen emergencies; however, to indulge the right honourable gentleman, I will tell him that from a circular petition which I have received, I very much fear that in the course of this session one of these unforeseen exigencies will come before us. An exigency in which government is not at all concerned, but which may possibly involve in it the fate of thousands of your manufacturers.

The right honourable gentleman is angry that any man should talk of confidence in government, and says that confidence is the most faded cockade in the castle millinary; yet I very well remember when the right honourable gentleman was proud to wear this faded cockade. I remember when no man professed more confidence in government. When, by a quibble upon the construction of an act of parliament, he was attacked on the doctrine of simple repeal, he rested on the confidence he professed to have in government, and the honour of the British nation.

Mr. GRATTAN.—Sir, I deny what the right honourable gentleman has asserted. I never reposed the rights of Ireland, as he has stated, on the faith of ministers—rested them on ministers or confidence!—No such thing!—I took parliamentary security; the faith of solemn national treaty; and I was warranted by the opinion delivered on that subject by the best lawyers in Ireland.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The right honourable gentleman was right; the objections then made against him were more becoming the office of a special pleader, than the dignity of parliament. He allows, however, that he rested on faith; and I cannot say that I understand perfectly the distinction between faith and confidence; and therefore, when he says that confidence is the most faded cockade in the castle millinary, I cannot forget that this despicable article of castle frippery had for years the honour to adorn his brow.

The right honourable gentleman talks of the English constitution. I desire to know, did he ever read of such a resolution as the present agreed to by the commons of England?—No—on the contrary, from 1774 to 1780, session after session, the minister had a vote of credit of one million, to enable him to provide for unforeseen exigencies. The wisdom of such a vote was most happily experienced by this country when the British minister was

enabled to send a great sum of money here, to provide for the unforeseen exigencies of Ireland, at a time when we had not a shilling in the Exchequer to provide for them ourselves. I pass by the absurdity in this resolution, by stating the condition upon which taxes are to be granted, before you know whether they will be proposed. I do believe they will be proposed; and for one, I never will consent to give up one of them; I mean the taxes upon malt, if I am to consider it but as a tax of regulation.

I wish it were practicable to increase it so much as to enable us to take off the excise upon spirits, because I think it essential to the health and the morals of the people to abolish the use of cheap spirits.

Upon the whole, I say no government should be tied up from giving bounties to encourage industry and promote the prosperity of the country. No government should be tied up, so as to disable them from providing for public emergency, if it should be necessary. A government which you are afraid to trust in these instances, ought not to be suffered to remain for one hour in this country. I very well know that the present government deserves the confidence of every man who wishes well to Ireland. If I did not, I would not act with those who are entrusted with it. The right honourable gentleman has repeatedly declared that he has a perfect confidence in the Duke of Rutland's government. Although he has thought fit to go into marked opposition to it, he has not stated any one act by which the Duke of Rutland has forfeited his confidence. As to his resolution, I have not a doubt in my mind that it ought to meet a direct negative.

Mr. BROOKE said he did not wish to let the motion pass with a silent vote, as he was one of those gentlemen who supported government when he thought them right, and as uniformly opposed them when he thought them wrong. He said he was one of those who wished to give every honourable support to his Majesty's government, at the same time that he would not subscribe to the extravagancies of any government. He saw no appearance of extravagance in the present administration; on the contrary, every proper attention to economy; he was therefore satisfied that he was consistent and right in voting against the motion, as being untimely, government having made no additional demand on the country.

The question being put, there appeared,

Ayes, - - 73 ——— Noes, - - 149

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration the supply granted to his Majesty, as also his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's speech, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report

to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 2,181,501l. 19s. 4d. was the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1785.

Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that the nation is also liable to the payment of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6l. per cent. per annum, for a sum of 440,000l. and is also liable to the payment of certain other life annuities, at the rate of 7l. 10s. per cent. per annum, for a further sum of 300,000l.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that a supply be granted to his Majesty towards payment of the said debt and the said annuities, and towards supporting the several branches of the establishments, and for defraying the other necessary expences of government for one year, to the 25th Day of March, 1787.

Resolved, That 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, are necessary to be maintained within this kingdom for its defence.

Resolved, That to enable his Majesty to carry into execution his gracious intentions and determined resolution, signified to us by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Townshend, late Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by his Majesty's command, to keep within this kingdom, for the necessary defence of the same, 12,000 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included, at all times, unless in case of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, 3092 men, commission and non-commission officers included, be maintained for one year, from the 31st day of March, 1786, to the 1st, day of April, 1787, inclusive, so as that the forces on the establishment of this kingdom may amount to 15,092 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included.

Resolved, That a sum of 4000l. be given to the right honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, to enable him to maintain the state and dignity of his office.

Resolved, That a sum of 540l. be given to Edward Cooke, Esq; clerk of this House, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 350l. be given to Benjamin Higgins, clerk assistant, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 270l. be given to James Corry, clerk of the journals and records, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 140l. be given to Dawson Ellis, clerk of the engrossments, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 500l. be given to George Frederick Winstanley and Jonathan Rogers, the clerks attending the select

and other committees, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of parliament, to be equally divided between them.

Resolved, That a sum of 670*l.* be given to Dixie Coddington, Esq; serjeant at arms, as a reward for his attendance and service this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 70*l.* be given to Lorenzo Sensi, as a reward for his trouble and attendance in delivering the votes to the members this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to James M'Cowen and Henry Holmes, door-keepers to this House, as a reward for their attendance and service this session of parliament, to be equally divided between them.

Resolved, that a sum of 700*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be by him divided among the back door-keepers and messengers attending this House, being twenty in number, and the other attendants, in such manner as he shall direct.

Resolved, That a sum of 140*l.* be given to Thomas L'Estrange, for his extraordinary care and trouble in attending this House as assistant serjeant at arms.

Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Thomas Ellis, Esq; for his trouble and expence in preparing copies, superintending the printing, and making an index to the twenty-second volume of the journals of this House.

Resolved, That a sum of 50*l.* be given to James Corry, for his extraordinary trouble in attending the committee of accounts this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 112*l.* be given to James King and Abraham Bradley King, for printing the public accounts laid before the House this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 500*l.* be given to the Speaker, to be applied by him in such manner as this House shall direct, for the better arrangement of business in the clerks offices.

Resolved, That a sum of 340*l.* be given to Thomas Burgh, Esq; accountant-general, as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and stating the public accounts of the nation, laid before this House this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 800*l.* be given to John Tydd, Esq; in consideration of his extraordinary attendance, care and expence in the office of paymaster of corn premiums.

Resolved, That a sum of 200*l.* be given to Henry Gore, Esq; as a reward for his expence and trouble in preparing and making out the account of the imports and exports for one year, ending the 25th day of March, 1785, pursuant to the order of this House.

Resolved, That a sum of 70*l.* be given to Henry Smith, deputy paymaster of corn premiums, for his extraordinary trouble

and expence in preparing accounts by him laid before this House for one year, ending at Midsummer, 1785.

Resolved, That a sum of 200l. be given to Paul Le Bas, examiner of corn premiums, on account of the great encrease of his trouble in examining and keeping accounts of said premiums, and for his expences in payment of clerks in the year, ending at Lady-day, 1785.

Resolved, That a sum of 140l. be given to John Smart, deputy accountant-general, for his extraordinary trouble this session of parliament, and superintending the printing of the public accounts.

Resolved, That a sum of 140l. be given to John Wetherall, for his extraordinary trouble in making up the several accounts by him laid before this House, and attending the House this session of parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 140l. be given to John Swan, examiner of excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts for this House.

Resolved, That a sum of 2000l. be given for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1787, to the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures, to encourage the raising sufficient quantities of hemp and flax in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a further sum of 2000l. for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1787, be given to the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures, for the encouragement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures, in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught.

Resolved, that a sum of 9000l. be given to the Incorporated Society, as a full provision for supporting the protestant charter schools of this kingdom for one year, to the 25th day of December, 1787.

Resolved, That a sum of 5000l. be given to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and Work-house, towards enabling them to discharge the debts by them contracted for the use of that charity, and towards supporting their necessary expences.

Resolved, That a sum of 8600l. be given to the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor in the city of Dublin, for the support of the House of Industry, in aid of the charitable contributions, for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1787.

Resolved, That a sum of 1000l. be given to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting the said charity.

Resolved, That a sum of 1000l. be given to the Governors of the Hibernian School, for the support of that charity.

Resolved, That a sum of 5000l. be granted to the Board of First Fruits, for building new churches, and rebuilding old churches in such parishes as no divine public service has been performed in for twenty years last past.

Resolved, That a sum of 3000*l.* be granted to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, towards building further offices for the public records, and courts of justice adjoining.

Resolved, That a sum of 5000*l.* be given to the Dublin Society, for the improvement of husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, one half of the said sum at the least to be applied to the encouragement of agriculture and planting, and the other half to be applied for the encouragement of manufactures, arts, and sciences, in such manner as shall be directed by parliament.

Resolved, That a sum of 20,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for the clothing, arming and maintaining a militia in this kingdom, for one year, to the 25th day of March, 1787; to be applied in such manner as parliament shall hereafter direct.

Resolved, That a sum of 10,000*l.* be granted to the right honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right honourable Lord Leitrim, the right honourable Thomas Conolly, the right honourable General Pomeroy, Richard Longfield, Esq; and Lodge Morres, Esq; to be by them or any four of them paid over for the encouragement of fisheries on the coast of Donegal, in such manner as shall be directed by parliament, so soon as a similar sum shall be raised by private subscription, to be expended in like manner, agreeable to the petition of Lord Leitrim, Lord Sudley, Sir Annesley Stewart, Baronet, Samuel Hayes, Esq; Alexander Stewart, Esq; James Stewart, Esq; Daniel Chambers, Esq; and others.

Resolved, that a sum of 20,000*l.* be given for the purpose of paying bounties on the home sale of manufactures of wool, wool mixed, cotton, cotton mixed, threads, kentings, iron and copper, and on silk gauzes made in this kingdom; all such bounties to be payable in a larger proportion on goods manufactured at a distance from the city of Dublin than on those manufactured in it, or within the distance of ten miles of it; to be distributed in such manner as parliament shall hereafter direct.

Resolved, that a sum of 646*l.* 7*s.* be given to James King and Abraham Bradley King, printers to this House, for printing and binding five hundred copies of the twenty-second volume of the journals, for the use of the members of this House.

Resolved, That a sum of 80*l.* be granted to Elizabeth Molloy, for the additional expences incurred by her in the articles of coal and candle, which she is obliged to furnish in the new buildings in the interval between this and the next session of parliament; and that a further sum of 100*l.* be granted to the said Elizabeth Molloy for the like additional expence incurred by her for the like purpose during recesses of parliament for the three last years.

Resolved, That the supply granted to his Majesty, towards payment of the said debt, annuities, establishments and other charges of government, be a sum not exceeding 3,044,167*l.*

Resolved, That a further supply be granted to his Majesty for paying the several foregoing gifts, bounties, rewards and specific grants.

Resolved, That the said further supply be a sum not exceeding 102,881. 7s.

Resolved, That a supply be granted to his Majesty for promoting and carrying on the inland navigation in Ireland, to be applied in such manner as parliament shall direct.

Resolved, That the supply granted to his Majesty for the inland navigation in Ireland be a sum not exceeding 7000l. per annum.

The question was put on these resolutions, and they were agreed to by the House.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1786.

The committee of ways and means sat, Mr. Macon in the chair.

On the motion for obliging every manufacturer of candles, soap and leather for sale to pay 20s. for a license,

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that at the first mention of that tax last session, in the committee of ways and means, he had objected to it, because affecting the necessities of life. That the smallness of the tax did not justify it, as it was the usual practice when once a tax was laid on any article, to increase it gradually in succeeding sessions; and that, as to the argument urged by administration in its defence, of its being rather a regulation than a tax, he knew that some were of opinion that administration begun with this mode of discovering the names and residence of the manufacturers, in order to tax hereafter the commodities themselves, and to let England see that the objection made by her manufacturers, as to the danger of Ireland underselling them, by means of her not having the necessities of life taxed, should be removed.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE presented a petition of Robert Brooke, of the town of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, setting forth that the petitioner dares to approach the House, not solely biased by interested motives, nor to relate the tale of his own distress, but openly, fairly, and candidly to represent, that if the bounty of parliament does not interfere to strengthen his credit, he must disband the numbers now employed by him, relinquish an undertaking to which he has sacrificed his fortune, and with heart-felt sorrow consign to the distress, which he himself must share, thousands of industrious people; that his duty to a public, hitherto so

indulgent to him, has made him exert and use every means which, until the interference of their protection, could maintain and uphold this undertaking, and has, under complicated difficulties, prevented him from any compromise which, although useful to himself, might have proved injurious to the public, and determined him, in a grand national concern, to apply to the guardians of the nation; that an almost conquered series of difficulties has intervened between him and success; that he is at the eve of obtaining that success, and yet his situation is such that if he does not immediately receive adequate assistance he must ruin, by his abandonment of it, a manufacture nearly matured, deprive of subsistence, lodging, or employment, and turn loose on the community, many thousands now usefully and industriously occupied; that the petitioner approaches with confidence, sensible of past obligations, and conscious of having faithfully discharged the trust which by their bounty parliament had vested in him; that his endeavours to comply with those measures which the low state of manufacture, and distressed existence of manufacturers necessitated, have proved extremely expensive to him, have absorbed, by the necessity of providing cash and subsistence for that multitude, which the wise prevention of monopoly and combination engaged government to throw upon his hands, the whole of his circulating stock, at a time that their idleness and dissipation created no return for it, and that their inexperience and inability, annihilated the profits of the business; that the employ of that multitude necessitated the extension of the manufacture, augmented the necessary quantity of dead stock, and thus creating a disproportion between the active and inactive capital, obliged the petitioner, by new loans, to encrease the former; that under these circumstances a partnership with men of large monied capital appeared the simplest means of obtaining that encrease; that such partners were found, but that the final settlement of the partnership occasioned an examination into the nature and operation of the two recognizances which had been entered into by him; that the petitioner's creditors finding that said recognizances to the crown for the sum of 57,000*l.* were liens upon all his real and personal estate, grew anxious with respect to their security, peremptory in their demands, and refractory to the idea of a further extension of credit; that the partners shrunk from engaging with a man whose credit was loaded with a burden which would affect both the capital they might employ, their share in the partnership, and the benefits derived from the extension of the business; that thus these recognizances acted to prevent a possibility of concluding with the partners; that the petitioner, encouraged by the experienced fostering care of the present parliament, under whose protection this manufacture has attained in this country to an extent and perfection unequalled and unparalleled for so short a period,

and warranted to surmise, from the laborious attention lately paid to the commercial business of this nation, that the community is well aware of the great benefits to be derived from the encouragement of our own manufactures, he dares to state his case; and sensible how improper it would be to request too much from the bounty of parliament, feels the necessity of soliciting sufficient; and therefore praying that parliament may supersede the priority of claim to which the crown is entitled by his recognizances, and permit that by sale, bond, mortgage or annuities, compleated or granted by him, he may raise the sum necessary for the bona fide discharge of his actual debts, and to the security of creditors, in a sum not exceeding 14,000*l.* which the probable extension of the business may require; that as the interest now payable on the loan would heavily impede the progress, and consume the benefits of the business, therefore praying a remission of the same for a term of years; that as partners could not subject their share of stock or capital to such recognizances, therefore praying that such share or shares may be freed, and that his share alone may be affected by the same; and that as the withdrawing a capital of 32,000*l.* might materially affect the partnership, and finally ruin the establishment, therefore praying that the revocation of the loan may be protracted from 1794 to 1800; that the petitioner dares not sue for further indulgence, and in atonement for the presumption with which he has stated the foregoing, he begs leave to represent that long toil and labour had acquired him, in the service of his country in India, honor and competency; that he has, in the difficult transactions of commercial business, maintained the first; exerted towards the improvement of his own country the spirit which had carried him abroad, and sacrificed to that improvement his fortune, and the provision which it had allowed him to make for his family; that after a further series of fourteen years, to be spent in a less agreeable line of the public service, he may probably leave his family less well provided than if his endeavours had supinely rested, and not been beneficially employed; but that he will rest with confidence upon his country, to which are devoted his life and services, whose ultimate ambition is to employ the industrious, and establish in Ireland a great manufacture, upon principles and with regulations which will free it from the lamented evils of monopoly and combination.

A petition of George Rowe, keeper of his Majesty's gaol, the New Prison, of the city of Dublin, was presented, setting forth, that previous to the years wherein the acts were passed preventing the sale of spirituous or malt liquors in any of his Majesty's prisons, and for acquitted persons to be discharged without fees, petitioner and his father received in emoluments, by both, upwards of 400*l.* annually; that when the said acts were passed, petitioner was led to entertain every reasonable hope that he

would have been reimbursed nearly in proportion to his loss, particularly as he labours under the following hardships; that having no place of accommodation for his residence in the new prison, he was constrained to hire a house contiguous to the same, at the yearly rent of 34l. 2s. 6d.; that in consequence of the new prison being made the occasional gaol of all the counties and towns in Ireland for prisoners transmitted to or from the country, as also for prisoners transmitted to and from different parts of England, the petitioner has the hardship to experience, night and day, of leading a life of anxiety for the safe custody of such prisoners, and incurs a considerable expence in keeping attendants for watching and inspecting the conduct of such prisoners; that the only salary which petitioner receives amounts to no more than 20l. paid by the corporation of the city of Dublin; and therefore praying relief.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1786.

Mr. CORRY said he had a petition to offer to the House, from the proprietors of the different newspapers in this city, in respect to the tax laid on advertisements last session of parliament; and after stating the grievance, he read the prayer of the petition, which was in the following words:

“Relying, therefore, on the wisdom and well-known justice of this honourable House, your petitioners presume to hope that such measures may be adopted as will remove the present grievance under which they labour, and that such other effectual relief be granted as the nature and merits of their case require.”

And then, appealing to the chair, he hoped it was not departing from parliamentary rule, and that there could be no objection to the receiving of the petition.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER gave it as his opinion, that the distinction between complaining of a tax as a grievance, and praying that it might not be continued, was a nullity.

Mr. CORRY contended that the grievance complained of was not that the House was going to lay a tax, but that it had laid one, and the prayer could only be considered as for a repeal.

The SPEAKER observed that as gentlemen differed in opinion on the subject, it was better for the honourable gentleman to defer his motion until there was a fuller House.

A petition of the grand jury of the county of the city of Dublin, at Hillary term 1786, was presented, setting forth that the petitioners, from enquiry and observation, are persuaded that

the idleness, profligacy and poverty of the lower class of people in this city, and the outrages and tumults which too frequently happen, are chiefly to be attributed to the practice of selling spirituous liquors by retail, which is therefore become a dangerous nuisance, and being authorized by law, can be corrected by the interference of the legislature only; that the petitioners conceive that people of this description having the opportunity for a few halfpence to intoxicate themselves with spirituous liquors, which also frequently throw them into a state of phrenzy, and the temptation to indulge themselves therein being offered to them in every street by the multitude of dram shops and public houses licensed for this purpose, they soon become weak, diseased and disabled, unfit for labour, useless to the state, and burdensome to the community for support, which if refused, they endeavour to obtain by theft or robbery; that the petitioners presume to apprehend that whatever revenue may arise from this practice, it cannot compensate the loss which trade, manufactures and the public at large sustain, by the decay of the health, strength and population of the working people, and the immorality, debauchery and wickedness of every kind which is upheld and cherished by it, the more especially as they entertain hopes that any decrease in revenue, upon restraining or abolishing the retail of spirits, would be found to be temporary only, and that the excise on the increased consumption of wholesale malt liquors, would amount nearly to such temporary deficiency; that the petitioners apprehend that neither the laws now subsisting for the suppression of vice and maintenance of good order, nor the authority and exertion of the magistrates in enforcing those laws, nor any future laws that may be enacted for those good purposes, will have any material effect in said city so long as this pernicious practice is permitted to exist; and therefore praying relief.

Mr. HARTLEY enforced the petition with great earnestness. He said to the ease with which poor people found access to spirits he attributed the enormous increase of the most atrocious crimes—inflamed with burning spirits, and unrestrained by morality, religion, or the terror of punishment, hundreds of intoxicated wretches nightly fall out from those hellish dens in which spirits are retailed, to commit depredations on the public.—It was, he said, an evil of such a magnitude as called loudly for the interference of parliament, and he hoped that no idea of raising a revenue would induce gentlemen to suppress the feelings of humanity, and countenance a practice so destructive to the people, and so ruinous to the industry of the kingdom.

Lord LUTTRELL pressed the necessity of attending to this petition.—He had often, he said, heard gentlemen in that House talk of encouraging the industry of the kingdom; but it was non-

sense, it was an insult to the understanding of men, to talk of industry to a nation which has been drunk for an hundred years.

Mr. MASON said he thought that parliament was bound by every duty to check the excessive abuse of spirits, which could only be done by raising their price so high that they would no longer be in the reach of the poor, and at the same time promote the brewery so as to tempt the people to the use of wholesome malt liquor. This, however, it was impossible to do, so long as private stills found protection and encouragement; while there were twelve or fifteen hundred stills in any one country working in private, the people of that country must be ruined, and all industry annihilated.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I am confident of the necessity of stopping the private distilleries, and I hope effectual means will be taken to do so; but I cannot avoid thinking that licenses to dram shops are granted in too great number, and with too little precaution.

Mr. BERESFORD said he thought every man should aid the intention of the petitioners: He would cordially embrace any system that could put an end to private distillation, to which only the abuses complained of could be fairly attributed; for if once private distillation was at an end, parliament could regulate the price of spirits as they thought proper. There was, however, a mistake in the supposition that the excesses of the poor arose from licenses being so freely dispensed; for since the tax on licenses had been raised, their number had diminished—the scenes of riot and intoxication were less frequent in licensed houses than in others, which paying no license, could afford to sell spirits cheaper than such as conformed to the law.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, appointed to consider of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House; which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the several additional and other rates, duties and impositions herein after mentioned, shall be raised, levied, collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive.

Resolved, That a duty of 6d. be laid on every pound of green tea, and of 4d. on every pound of black bohea tea, and other teas, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or

other duties payable for the same by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a further additional duty be laid on all teas imported into this kingdom which shall have been purchased at the India company's sale in London for an higher price than 4s. British per pound, at the rate of 1d. per pound for every 6d. that shall be paid for the same over and above the sum of 4s. British at the sales above-mentioned, during the time aforesaid; the price of the teas to be inserted in the cockets, and to be further ascertained by a reference to the sale-books of the East-India company, which the commissioners of the revenue are required to procure from time to time for the purposes above-mentioned.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 6d. per yard be laid on all chintzes, callicoes and muslins of the manufacture of China, Persia and the East Indies, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 6d. be laid on every yard of callico and muslin that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 1s. 6d. per yard be laid on all sorts of silks and stuffs made or manufactured in Persia, China or the East Indies, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 4l. sterling per pound weight be laid on all velvets and manufactures made of or mixed with silk, except those of Great Britain, China, Persia, and the East Indies, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d per pound weight be laid upon all hops that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid from Great Britain.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 1s. per ream be laid on every ream of paper (except brown, blue and pressing paper) which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except of the manufacture of Great Britain.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. per pack be laid upon all painted or playing cards which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 6d. per pack be laid on all painted or playing cards that shall be manufactured or vended in this kingdom during the time aforesaid, over and above the present duty now payable for the same.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 6d. per gallon be laid upon all linseed oil which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 3s. be laid upon every pound weight of flaxen or linen thread, not being the manufacture of Great Britain, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That for and upon all Muscovado sugars of the growth, product and manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 13s. 3d. $\frac{13}{20}$ if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 13s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$ for every one hundred and twelve pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a duty of 1l. 16s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hundred weight be laid on all refined sugars in loaves, not being bastards, and on all candy which shall be imported from Great Britain during the time aforesaid, being of British manufacture, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the same to be paid in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a duty be laid on all refined sugars, called bastards, and on all ground and powdered refined sugars, and all refined loaf broke in pieces, which shall be imported from Great Britain during the time aforesaid, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, after the rate of 18s. 11d. $\frac{16}{10}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ for every hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duty to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, custom and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon all white sugars of the growth, product and manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 1l. 11s. 4d. $\frac{15}{20}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 1l. 12s. 10d. $\frac{8}{20}$ $\frac{5}{7}$ for every one hundred and twelve pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties,

customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon all refined sugars of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 4l. 13s. 4d. $\frac{3}{40}$ if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 4l. 18s. 4d. $\frac{1}{20}$ for every one hundred and twelve pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon all panes of the growth, product or manufacture of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, directly from thence or from Great Britain, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 17s. 5d. $\frac{1}{20}$ if imported by natives, and if imported by strangers a duty after the rate of 18s. 0d. $\frac{1}{20}$ for every one hundred and twelve pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise now payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That all drawbacks or allowances now given by law on the export of refined sugars made in this kingdom do now cease and be no longer payable, and that in lieu of said drawbacks, and for the encouragement of refining sugars in Ireland, a bounty shall be allowed and paid upon all refined sugar which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 1l. 8s. 2d. for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported in the loaf, complete and whole, being net, that is to say, of one uniform whiteness throughout, and which hath gone through the operation of two or more clays since it was last in the pan, and hath been properly and thoroughly dried in the stove according to the present practice of refining; and after the rate of 12s. 7d. $\frac{1}{20}$ for every hundred weight of such refined sugar exported, called ballards, and of all ground and powder refined sugar, and all refined loaf sugar broke in pieces, the said sugar having been twice clayed and properly dried in the stove; and likewise of all candy, properly refined and manufactured, and free from dirt and scum.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. 3d. be laid on every pound of raw silk which shall be imported into this kingdom from any place whatsoever, during the time aforesaid, not being the produced on America, in lieu and full satisfaction of all customs, excise and

other duties whatsoever payable for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, an allowance be paid on the exportation of all ribbands or stuffs made in Ireland of silk only, after the rate of 3s. the pound weight avoirdupoise; and of all silks and ribbands made in Ireland of silk mixed with gold and silver, after the rate of 4s. per pound weight; and of all silk stockings, silk gloves, fringes, laces, stitching and sewing silk, made in Ireland, after the rate of 1s. 3d. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk and program yarn, after the rate of 8d. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk mixed with inkle or cotton, after the rate of 1s. per pound weight; and of all stuffs made in Ireland of silk and worsted after the rate of 6d. per pound weight; and of all wrought or manufactured gold or silver plate made in this kingdom, after the rate of 6d. for every ounce weight.

Resolved, That the following additional duties be laid on all damask towelling, napkins or cloths made of flax or hemp, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, not being of the manufacture of Great Britain; that is to say, a duty of 6d. per yard on all such goods at or under yard wide, and of 1s. per yard on all such goods from one yard to eight quarters wide, and 2s. per yard on all such goods above eight quarters wide.

Resolved, That bounties ought to be given on all plain Irish linens, and on all Irish linens and Irish calicoes, and cotton mixed with linen, printed, painted, stained or dyed in this kingdom, being the breadth of twenty-five inches or more, and not exceeding, when plain and unpainted, unstained, unprinted or undyed, the value of 1s. 7½d. per yard; and also on Irish diapers and huckabacks, sheetings, and other linens above yard wide, and not exceeding 1s. 7½d. the square yard in value, which shall be exported from this kingdom to Africa, America, the West Indies, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, or Minorca, between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive, after the rates following; that is to say, a bounty of one halfpenny per yard for all under the value, as aforesaid, of 5d. per yard; and a bounty of 1d. per yard for all of the value of 5d. and under 6d. the yard; and a bounty of 1½d. per yard for all of the value of 6d. and under the value of 1s. 7½d. the yard; and a bounty of one halfpenny per yard for all chequed and striped linen, not exceeding 1s. 7½d. nor under 7d. per yard in value; and a bounty of 1½d. for every square yard of diaper, huckabacks, sheetings, and other linens, upwards of a yard in breadth, not exceeding 1s. 7½d. the square yard in value; and a bounty of 6½d. for every three ells of Irish made sail-cloth or canvas, fit for or made into sails, which shall be exported by way of merchandize to any place except Great

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Britain, during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantities; the value of such linen, if painted, stained, stamped or dyed, or of such calicoes and cottons, mixed with linen, whereupon they are to be respectively entitled to the bounties aforesaid, to be deemed their value when in a plain state, and exclusive of such painting, staining, stamping or dying.

Resolved, That in order to encourage the growth of flax-seed in this kingdom it will be expedient to discontinue all bounties on the import of foreign seed, and to give bounties to encourage the cultivation of it at home.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN observed that the linen trade being the grand staple of the kingdom, every means should be tried to extend the market for it. Large quantities, it is true, were already sent abroad to foreign markets, but still there were thousands of people in Ireland, who, if the trade was carried to its utmost degree of prosperity, would still find employment in it. He had discouraged, he said, with some Italian merchants, who had assured him that Irish linens had lately come to a good market at Leghorn; nay, that they had even found their way to Rome, and that a small assistance would carry them still further, to the Levant and Turkey; his wish, therefore, was, that a bounty sufficient to induce merchants to explore those markets should be granted to all linen exported from Ireland to the coasts of the Mediterranean sea.

Mr. BERESFORD said in reply, that if those linens which had been sent to Leghorn had gone to a good market, there was no occasion for a bounty to force the trade; but his chief reason for opposing the honourable baronet's wish was, that as the English and Irish bounties were granted under a compact between the two countries, it would be a dangerous experiment to enter into a contest with England, by commencing a war of bounties.

Mr. CORRY took notice of the neglect and total disregard which, he said, parliament had shewn to our interests in Portugal. He requested the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde] to inform the House whether any thing had been done in that business?

Mr. ORDE said he had hoped the answer which he gave the other day on that subject would have satisfied the honourable gentleman. He assured him that every step was taken by his Majesty's ministers to bring that affair to a proper determination. How it would turn out, he could not tell, but was certain the event would soon be known; and earnestly wished it might be to the advantage of Ireland.

Mr. CORRY said the total inattention of parliament in the last and present session was enough to prove to any minister, that

whatever state might think proper to break public faith with, and insult the kingdom of Ireland, she need give herself no trouble about the matter—her legislature would tamely submit.—Ireland had no chance of justice, but from the generosity and honour of foreign states, who might pity her unprotected situation.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN urged the necessity of parliament taking some steps with regard to the Portugal business now, when Great Britain was settling commercial treaties with all the great powers on the Continent of Europe, and also with the States of America. He reminded the House that he had often called their attention to this object, and hoped they would give it due consideration before it should prove too late.

Mr. CORRY said he retained a high sense of the labours of the honourable baronet, particularly on this subject; and he believed the nation also felt the weight of the obligation, though the House had refused to attend to the subject.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said the honourable gentleman [Mr. Corry] was well entitled to the thanks of the House, for the very great pains he took in all public affairs, but the last business he certainly had not stated with his usual accuracy, when he said the House had refused to attend to it. The House had several times taken it into consideration. He was satisfied the minister would always meet the support of that House in asserting the rights of Ireland, and he entertained a full confidence that, in the treaties now negotiating, due regard would be had to the interest of Ireland.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said he confessed the utmost obligation to Sir John Blaquiere for the warm part he had taken, and the exertions he had made in pressing the just rights of Ireland to the Portugal trade, both when he was secretary to Lord Harcourt, and ever since.

Resolved, That for and upon every 100l. value of speckle wood, as the same is rated for custom, which shall be imported into this kingdom from Africa or Great Britain during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, the several duties following; that is to say, if the same be imported by any of his Majesty's subjects, a duty of 22l. 15s.; but if the same be imported by strangers, then a duty of 24l. 3s. 5½d. and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise payable thereon by virtue of any law or laws heretofore made in this kingdom; and that upon the exportation thereof, within three years after import, there shall be allowed and paid a drawback of equal amount to the duties respectively charged hereby on the import of such speckle wood.

Resolved, That for and upon all beaver skins of the produce of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 9s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for every five score of skins, and so in proportion for any greater or less number, in lieu and full satisfaction of all customs, duties and excise payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon all beaver wool, cut and combed, the produce and manufacture of the said plantations, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 17s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every pound weight thereof, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise payable thereon by any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; and that the said duty shall be fully drawn back and repaid on due exportation thereof within three years after importation.

Resolved, That for and upon all cotton wool of the growth or produce of the British plantations in America or the West Indies, which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid in any other than British or Irish shipping, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 5l. 13s. 9d. for every 100l. value thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less value, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable on the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon all beaver wool or wombs which shall have been imported from the said plantations or settlements, and which shall be afterwards exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty after the rate of 8l. 10s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for every five score pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That for and upon every piece of white woollen cloth, called broad cloth, which shall be exported from this kingdom during the time aforesaid to any of the said plantations or settlements, there shall be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, a duty of 5s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties and customs payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, no custom, subsidy or duty whatsoever shall be payable on the ex-

port to any place whatsoever of logwood, of the growth or produce of the British settlements in America or the West Indies, provided the same be exported in British or Irish shipping, nor upon any lead-ore exported to Great Britain.

Resolved, That from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, all duties whatsoever paid on the importation of any callicoos or muslins shall be fully drawn back and repaid for all such as shall be printed, stained, painted or dyed in this kingdom or Great Britain, and shall be afterwards exported from hence to any place except to any British colony or plantation in America or the West Indies; and if the same should be exported to any such colony or plantation, then that all said duties shall be fully drawn back and repaid, except so much thereof as shall amount to a sum after the rate of 5l. 8s. 4d. for every 100l. value thereof, as the same shall have been sold by the candle at the East India Company's sales in London, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That all and every person and persons who shall from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, import directly from America or the West Indies, in any ship or vessel belonging thereto, or to Great Britain or Ireland, and manned as in such case is usual, or from Great Britain, any good and merchantable indigo, free from any false mixtures, and fit for dyers use, being the growth and product of any of his Majesty's colonies in America, shall have and be entitled to a reward or premium for such importation, after the rate of 2s. 2d. for every six pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That the several subsidies, duties and customs, except the alnage duties heretofore payable upon the export of any goods and merchandizes of the growth, product and manufacture of this kingdom, be taken off, except on skins, hides of all sorts, coney hair or wool, hares wool, hair of all sorts, horns, live cattle of all sorts, ashes, bacon, beef, pork, butter, grease, guts, hog-lard, tallow, tongues, bones not manufactured, flax-seed, hemp-seed, linen yarn, linen rags or shreds, rape cakes, soapers waste, tin unwrought, weld, wax or woad, and provisions of all sorts.

Resolved, That no subsidy, custom or duty whatsoever shall be raised, levied or paid on the export of any goods or merchandizes, the product or manufacture of this kingdom, to the British plantations in America, the West Indies, or the British settlements on the coast of Africa, except on the several articles mentioned in the foregoing resolution, and on iron and iron wares, leather tanned, dressed or tawed, shreds and points of leather, pelts, vellum and parchment, soap, hops, allum, lead, lead-ore, copperas, coals, wool cards, white woollen cloth, lapis calaminaris, glue and litharge of lead.

Resolved, That from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, the full duties which have been or shall be paid on the import of

any goods, wares or merchandizes, except where it shall be otherwise provided this session of parliament, shall be fully repaid for such as shall be exported by any merchant within three years after import to any place whatever.

Resolved, That from and after the 25th day of March, 1786, no custom, duties or subsidy whatever shall be payable on the importation of any unwrought timber or timber lumber of the growth or produce of America or the West Indies; any wrought timber, not being a mast, yard or bowsprit; any wood or plank; any clean, good, merchantable, well-conditioned pitch or tar, unmixed with dross or water, or clean, good, merchantable turpentine, such pitch, tar or turpentine being the growth or produce of America or the West Indies, and imported from thence or from Great Britain; any cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, Brazil or Fernambuco wood, logwood, Braziletto or Jamaica wood, Nicorago wood, red or Guinea wood, Sapan wood, mahogany or other wood, the produce of America or the West Indies; any wood for dyers use imported from any place, except speckle wood of the growth of Africa; any whale fins, train oil or blubber, the produce of whales taken or caught in any part of the ocean by and imported in any ship or vessel belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey or the Isle of Man; any raw or undressed goat skins imported in British or Irish ships, navigated according to law, from any port or place whatever; any raw or undressed seal skins taken by the crews of vessels belonging to and fitted out from this kingdom, Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey or the Isle of Man, whereof the captain or master and three-fourths of the mariners at the least are his Majesty's subjects, or by persons employed by the master or owner of such vessels; any raw silk of the growth or culture of America; any pig or bar iron made in America, and imported from thence or from Great Britain; any sago powder or vermicelli imported from America or Great Britain, being the produce of America; any raw or undressed hides of steers, cows or other cattle whatsoever, except of horses, mares or geldings, imported from America or from Great Britain, being the produce of America, or any undressed hemp or flax, being the produce of Great Britain, and imported from thence, or any undressed hemp or flax from any place whatsoever; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That all goods, wares and merchandizes imported from the British settlements on the coast of Africa shall pay the same and no other duties as the like goods imported from the British plantations in America shall be subject to, except where it is otherwise particularly provided, and that a like amount of duty be drawn back on their exportation from this kingdom.

Resolved, That a duty of 10s. be paid by every person that hath or shall sell or tap out by retail any cider at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 1d. per gallon be laid on all cider that shall be sold or tapped out by retail, to be paid by the person who shall sell or tap out the same, during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 20s. be laid on every coach, chariot, berlin, calash, or chaise with four wheels, which any person shall keep in his or her possession, except cabriolets, garden chairs, hackney or stage carriages and carriages kept by coach-makers for sale, being in number not more than one; and 40s. for every coach, chariot, berlin, calash, or chaise with four wheels, which any person shall keep exceeding that number, except as aforesaid; and also an additional duty of 10s. on all chaises with two wheels which any person shall keep in his or her possession, except hackney chaises and chaises kept by the makers for sale, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 40s. be laid on every coach, chariot, berlin, calash, or chaise with four wheels, which any person shall keep in his or her possession, except cabriolets or garden chairs, hackney or stage carriages, and carriages kept by coach-makers for sale, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a tax be laid on all travelling tinkers, smiths, casters of iron and metal, and on all persons hawking about tea or coffee, trees, shrubs or plants, for sale; and on all persons who shall sell or expose to sale in any stall, stand, shed, booth, bulk, or other place, not being a part of or in his dwelling-house, any new or old books, maps, prints, charts, pamphlets or drawings; and on every person who shall sell or expose to sale any glass bottles, not being the maker or importer thereof, or not selling wine, spirits, beer or ale; and also on all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, or any other trading persons going from town to town, or to other mens' houses, and travelling either on foot or with horse, or otherwise carrying to sell or exposing to sale any goods, wares or merchandizes, except such persons as shall deal only in selling acts of parliament, forms of prayer, proclamations, gazettes, news-papers, or almanacks; or fish, fruit, or victuals; or the real workers or makers of any goods or wares within this kingdom, who shall deal only in selling such goods and wares; excepting also coopers, glaziers and harness-makers.

Resolved, That the said tax laid upon all hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, and other persons as aforesaid, be 40s. on every such hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, or other person; and also that the further sum of 40s. be laid on every hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, and other trading person as aforesaid, travelling with a horse, ass, mule or other beast bearing or drawing burden, for each horse, ass, mule or other beast bearing or drawing burden

he or she shall so travel with, over and above the said first-mentioned tax of 40s. from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive.

Resolved, That all duties of customs inwards, import excise, and all other duties whatsoever payable on the import of any goods, wares and merchandizes, during the time aforesaid, shall be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance for prompt payment.

Resolved, That for and upon all goods, wares and merchandizes which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except sugars; by any person being a retailer or consumer, there shall be paid in ready money net, without discount or allowance for prompt payment, an additional duty after the rate of 10l. per centum on the duties payable thereon respectively; over and above the full amount of such duties.

Resolved, That there shall be raised, levied; collected and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, an additional impost or duty; after the rate of 5l. per centum on the produce or amount of the duties payable on all teas and wines imported; and on the amount of the customs inwards, import excise, additional and other duties, which shall be due and payable to his Majesty; his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid; and which shall be collected in this kingdom for and upon any goods and merchandizes imported into the same, except upon tobaccoes, hops and sugars; and the several goods or merchandizes of the product or manufacture of the British colonies in America or the West Indies, or the British settlements on the coast of Africa; whereon any duties are imposed or altered this session of parliament.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty; there be paid a duty of 1s. on every entry inwards which shall be made in the port of Dublin between the 25th day of March, 1786; and the 25th day of March, 1787, except post entries and entries of coals, over and above all other duties or fees payable by any law or usage for the same.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. per ton be laid upon every ton of soap boilers waste, and of 3l. per ton on every ton of linen rags, and so in proportion for a greater or less quantity, that shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 6d. per hide be laid upon every raw and untanned hide which shall be exported out of this kingdom during the time aforesaid to any place except Great Britain.

Resolved, That a duty of 15s. per ton be laid on all vinegar being of British manufacture, and an additional duty of 5l. 6s. per ton upon all other vinegar which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; the said duty of 15s. to be in lieu and

full satisfaction of all duties payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a general letter office or post office, together with all inferior necessary offices, be continued within this kingdom from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787; and that there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the said offices, the several rates hereafter mentioned.

Resolved, That there shall be levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time aforesaid, for the port and conveyance of every single letter or piece of paper, from the office in this kingdom where such letter or piece of paper shall be put in, to any distance within the said kingdom not exceeding fifteen miles Irish measure, the sum of 2d. and to any distance exceeding fifteen miles, and not exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 3d. and to any distance exceeding thirty miles, the sum of 4d; and for the port and conveyance of every double letter, double the said sums respectively; and of every treble letter, treble the said sums respectively; and of every ounce weight, four times the said sums respectively; and so in proportion for any greater weight than an ounce, reckoning every quarter of an ounce equal to a single letter.

Resolved, That every letter or packet directed from any place in this kingdom to any parts in Great Britain or beyond the seas, or received in this kingdom from Great Britain or any parts beyond the seas, shall be charged and pay according to the rates aforesaid for its portage and conveyance within this kingdom from or to Dublin, or from or to Donoghadee, according as it shall be respectively shipped from or landed in either of the said places.

Resolved, That every letter or packet passing through the General Post Office in the city of Dublin, from any place within this kingdom not less distant than four miles from the said office, to any place within the said kingdom not less distant likewise than four miles from the said office, shall be charged and pay according to the distances in the foregoing resolutions to Dublin, and be further charged and pay according to the same from Dublin.

Resolved, That for every letter or packet directed on board, or brought or sent from on board any ship or vessel riding or stopping in any port within this kingdom, there shall be charged and paid, over and above the rates aforesaid, the sum of 1d.

Resolved, That towards raising the said supply a Penny Post Office be continued in the city of Dublin, for the port and conveyance of letters and packets within a circuit of four miles from the General Post Office in the same city.

Resolved, That for every letter or packet of any weight, which shall be sent to or delivered from the general post-office, by the

penny-post, from or to any place not being within the limits of the said city, as they are ascertained and described in a map or survey thereof made by Thomas Matthews, and deposited in the general-post-office, there shall be paid the sum of 1d. over and above or exclusive of the rates aforesaid.

Resolved, That for the port and conveyance of any letter or packet, being not more than four ounces in weight, from or to any place within the city of Dublin, by the penny post-office, there shall be paid at the time of putting such letter or packet into the office the sum of 1d. and for the port and conveyance of every letter or packet not exceeding the like weight, from any place in the said city to any place outside of the said city within the circuit of the penny post-office, or from any place outside of the said city within the circuit of the penny post, to any place in the said city, there shall be paid at the time of putting in such letter or packet the sum of 1d. and a further sum of 1d. on the delivery thereof.

Resolved, That there shall be paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the delivery in Dublin of each British or foreign printed newspaper, and each printed vote or proceeding in parliament, arriving at the general post-office in Dublin or Donoghadee, from Great Britain or beyond the seas, without cover or in cover open at the sides, the sum of 1d. over and above all foreign postage charged thereon.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 2s. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale above the price of 6s. the barrel, and of 4d. the barrel for and upon every thirty-two gallons of beer or ale of the price of 6s. the barrel or under, brewed within this kingdom between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, by any common brewer, or in his vessels by any other person or persons who doth or do or shall sell or tap out beer or ale publicly or privately, such gallon to contain two hundred and seventy-two cubical inches and one-fourth part of a cubical inch, be paid by the common brewer, or by such person or persons respectively who shall brew, sell or tap out the same and so proportionably for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That a duty be laid on all beer, ale and porter which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 4s. 1d. for every thirty-two gallons, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; to be paid down in ready money net, without discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties, customs and excise payable thereon by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 10d. per gallon for and upon every gallon of aqua vitæ, strong waters or spirits made or

distilled within this kingdom for sale, be paid by the first maker or distiller thereof, during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 8d. per gallon be laid upon every gallon of brandy, strong waters and spirits perfectly made, and of spirits made and distilled of wine not above proof, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, and so proportionably for a greater or less quantity; and for every gallon of foreign spirits, above the quality of single spirits, that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, an additional duty shall be paid for such spirits, and shall be charged thereon in proportion to the duties payable for single spirits of the same denomination, according to the comparative degree of strength which such spirits so to be imported shall bear to single spirits of the same denomination.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 10d. per gallon be laid on all rum or other spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 1s. 8d. per gallon be laid on all brandy, geneva, and all other spirits that shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except spirits of the growth and produce of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, over and above all other duties now payable for the same.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 20s. sterling be laid on every hundred weight of treacle, and an additional duty of 6d. per yard on all foreign stuffs called romals, and all manufactures made of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, whether plain, painted or stained, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, except the manufacture of Great Britain.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 5l. per centum be laid upon all china, earthen, japanned or lacquered ware, as valued or rated for custom by the book of rates, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid; and also an additional duty, after the rate of 10l. per centum on the several goods and manufactures, not being of the growth and produce or manufacture of Great Britain herein after named, as the same now stand rated for custom in the book of rates, or if unrated shall be valued on oath of the importer, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, over and above all other duties now payable for the same, viz. apparel, apples, bacon and hams, beads of glass, chocolate, cocoa nuts, coffee, cork, capers, cloves, currants, cheelnuts, wall nuts, small nuts, bugles, kulled barley, artificial flowers, millinery wares, pearl barley, fans, hats (chip and straw) anchovies, sturgeon, pins, wrought ivory, olives, onions, prints and pictures, mace, nutmegs, wrought inkle,

drugs, not being for dyers use, elephants teeth, furs, all lacquered, japanned, gilt, painted, bronzed and enamelled ware, gloves of all sorts, almonds, anniseeds, cinnamon, liquorice, pepper, piamento, pruens, raisins, rice, saffron, succards, succus liquoritice, needles, thimbles, outnal-thread, silvers-thread, china and earthen ware, whited brown thread, and all other threads, haberdashery, hardware, toys, merimits, iron pots, scissars, snuff, tyles, shot, laces of cotton, thread, worsted or silk, groceries of all kinds (except sugars) oranges and lemons, lime, lemon and orange juice, not being for dyers use, tape, foreign linens, and all manufactures of flax and hemp.

Resolved, That the 6d. per pound and all other fees which shall or may be payable to the vice-treasurer or vice-treasurers, receiver or paymaster-general, clerk of the pells, or any other officer or officers of this kingdom, for or on account of the issuing or payment of any sum or sums which shall be received for or on account of the said several aids hereby granted to his Majesty, or for or upon issuing any sum or sums of money which shall or may be borrowed pursuant to any act of parliament or vote of credit this session of parliament, be applied towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty.

Resolved, That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all French wines imported into this kingdom from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive, if filled and imported by natives, 33l. 7s. if filled and imported by strangers, 34l. 10s. 4d. if unfilled and imported by natives, 31l. 1s. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 32l. 2s. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all wines of the growth of Portugal and Madeira, imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, if filled and imported by natives, 22l. 4s. 8d. if filled and imported by strangers, 25l. —s. 2d. $\frac{3}{4}$; if unfilled and imported by natives, 20l. 14s. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 21l. 8s. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a further additional duty of 30l. a ton be paid upon all wines of the growth of Portugal imported into this king-

dom during the time aforesaid, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said further additional duty to cease so soon as the goods of Ireland shall be admitted into Portugal agreeable to treaties, and to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance.

Resolved, That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Rhenish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, if filled and imported by natives, 27l. 19s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ if filled and imported by strangers, 29l. 9s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$; if unfilled and imported by natives, 25l. 13s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$, if unfilled and imported by strangers, 27l. —s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise and other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all Spanish wine imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, if filled and imported by natives, 22l. 4s. 8d. if filled and imported by strangers, 25l. —s. 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$; if unfilled and imported by natives, 20l. 14s. if unfilled and imported by strangers, 21l. 8s. by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That during the time aforesaid the like duty shall be paid for all wines imported from the Canaries, and all other the dominions of Spain, as upon Spanish wine; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That the following duties shall be paid for and upon all other wines imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, if filled and imported by natives, 28l. 9s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$, if filled and imported by strangers, 30l. 3s. 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$; if unfilled and imported by natives, 26l. 3s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$, if unfilled and imported by strangers, 27l. 12s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{3}$, by the ton for every ton thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity; the said duties to be paid down in ready money net, without any discount or allowance, and to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all custom, excise or other duties payable to his Majesty for the same by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That a tax of 10s. per barrel be laid upon all herrings which shall be imported into this kingdom, except British herrings, during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787, a duty be laid upon all malt made in this kingdom, after the rate of 2s. 6d. for each barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That an additional duty be laid upon all malt imported into this kingdom between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, after the rate of 2s. 6d. by the barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That a duty of 5l. be laid on every table, spinning bench or wheel, and of 40s. on every press made use of or which shall be in the possession of any person at any time during the time aforesaid, for the purpose of spinning or making roll tobacco.

Resolved, That a duty of 2d. be laid for and upon every pound weight of tobacco which shall be made or manufactured in this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Mr. CORRY stated that in the last session two pence per pound additional duty having been laid upon home manufactured tobacco, besides a licensed duty on the manufacturer, and a duty upon tobacco tables and other instruments of the manufacture, that commodity was raised to such a degree that smuggling had much increased. A pound of manufactured tobacco, said he, now stands the fair trader in fifteen pence, viz. three pence original cost, ten pence on importation, and two pence inland excise or tax on the manufacture, whereas it costs the smuggler but three pence a pound; so that if the smuggler saves one cargo out of five, he is on a level with the fair trader, and if he saves one out of three, he makes a rapid fortune. Now, it is well known that smuggling will increase in proportion as you raise the duties, for every high duty is a tax levied upon honest men and a premium to smugglers. The smuggler takes away nothing from this country but specie; the fair trader sends its manufactures to America, who can only return tobacco or flour. By our excellent corn laws we are not likely to stand in need of the latter commodity, and if we do not encourage a fair commerce to the former, our trade to America is at an end. The proof of this is the falling off in the last year of near two hundred thousand pounds weight in the average quantity of tobacco annually imported, though it is well known prodigious quantities have been smuggled in the same time.

In 1784, the quantity imported was 4,214,860 lb.

In 1785, 4,056,036 lb.

After urging the business in the strongest manner, and putting the question in a variety of lights, insinuating particularly on the

injury the revenue must suffer, he concluded with moving to reduce the import duty to six pence per pound.

Mr. BERESFORD.—It is unnecessary for me to detain the committee in following the honourable gentleman through every thing he has said, since I admit his principle, that the higher duties are raised the greater temptation to smuggling. I cannot, however, admit his conclusion in the present case; for since the duties on tobacco have been raised, the quantity in the last year imported did not fall off, nor the revenue is not sunk; this will best be understood by taking a comparison for ten years from Lady-day, 1776, divided into two periods of five years each.

In the first five years, and during the low duty, were imported 21,593,669 pounds. Duty 481,467l. 15s. 2d.

Second period of five years, and during the high duty, 21,078,081 pounds. Duty 797,344l. 8s. 3d.

Average on the first five years, 4,318,733 $\frac{2}{3}$ pounds. Duty 96,293l. 19s. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ d.

Average on the second five years, 4,215,616 $\frac{1}{3}$ pounds. Duty 159,468l. 17s. 7d. $\frac{2}{3}$.

To prove that the high duty does not reduce the quantity imported, Mr. Beresford stated that the high duty began in 1781, in which year were imported,

In 1782, — — — 3,845,788 lb.

In 1783, — — — 3,459,861 ditto.

But in 1785, — — — 4,056,036 ditto.

As to the collection of the inland excise upon tobacco, he stated that it was not possible it could yet be so productive as it ought to be, because it was a new business thrown upon the gaugers, who had too much already; for had they only the malt to attend to, that would in itself be sufficient. There were in the kingdom 3609 malsters and only 419 gaugers, which was about nine malsters to each gauger. But besides which they had the brewery and the distillery to mind, and after all were very ill paid for their labour.

The question was put on Mr. Corry's motion, and it was negatived without a division.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person manufacturing candles for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person selling or manufacturing paper hangings for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 40s. be paid by every person manufacturing tobacco for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person manufacturing soap for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That every person selling tea or groceries by retail, at any time during the time aforesaid, in any town-corporate in this kingdom, shall pay a duty of 20s. and in any other part of this kingdom a duty of 10s.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person selling or making any gold or silver plate for sale in this kingdom at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid by every person who shall keep a tan-yard or tan-pit, or tan leather for sale in this kingdom, at any time during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 10s. be laid on every hundred weight of cork which shall be imported into this kingdom from Portugal during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a further additional duty be laid on all oranges and lemons which shall be imported into this kingdom from Portugal or its dominions during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 40s. for every thousand, and so in proportion for any greater or less number.

Resolved, That a bounty be paid on all new cordage of the manufacture of this kingdom which shall be exported to any place except Great Britain by way of merchandize, during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 2s. 7d. for every one hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 3d. per pound weight be laid on all coffee, chocolate and cocoa nuts which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a further additional duty be laid on all coffee which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 16s. 7d. for every one hundred weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Resolved, That a tax of 4s. in the pound be laid upon all salaries, profits of employments, fees and pensions payable between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, to the persons who shall not actually reside six calendar months in this kingdom between the said 25th day of March, 1786, and the said 25th day of March, 1787, except the descendants of his Majesty's royal grandfather, and except the Chief Governor and his Secretary, and also except the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Ferdinand, the Duke and Dutchess of Athol, the representatives of the right honourable Edward, Lord Baron Hawke, of the kingdom of Great Britain, and George Charles, Esq; if his Majesty shall think fit by his sign manual to exempt them from the said tax; and also except all officers of the army, so far as respects the pay arising from their regimental commissions; and also except the half-pay officers on this establishment, and the widows of officers.

Resolved, That a duty be laid on all tobacco imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, after the rate of 10d. for

every pound weight thereof; the said duty to be in lieu and full satisfaction of all duties payable by virtue of any act or acts of parliament heretofore made in this kingdom.

Resolved, That an additional duty of 2l. 10s. per centum be laid on all iron wire which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid, not being of the manufacture of Great Britain.

Resolved, That upon all wines of the growth of Portugal which shall have paid the additional duty of 30l. per ton, and which shall be exported from this kingdom, there shall be drawn back and repaid the full additional duty so paid on import.

And the question being put, that the House do agree with the committee in the said resolutions, it was carried in the affirmative.

It was ordered that leave be given to bring in one or more bill or bills, pursuant to the said resolutions and the resolutions of the committee of supply, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Prime Serjeant, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Mason, Mr. Serjeant Fitzgerald and Mr. George Ponsonby do prepare and bring in the same.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1786.

The order of the day for going into the committee of ways and means being called for,

Mr. CORRY said he had offered to the House a petition signed by a number of respectable persons, who found themselves aggrieved by the tax on advertisements in the last year; but the House had refused to receive the petition, upon a principle that to receive petitions against taxes was against the order of parliament; he hoped, however, he would now be permitted to take the only remaining method that could shew the oppressive and impolitic nature of this tax, which was to examine persons before the committee, who were ready to give evidence to that point. He could see no objection to this proposal, if gentlemen did not fear to meet the information, and wish to skulk from it. He did not mean to apply the word skulk to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; it conveyed an idea contrary to his character, contrary to his disposition; but if government would neither admit the petition, nor the *viva voce* evidence of the sufferers by the tax, it was evident they skulked from the question.

Mr. BROWNLOW said he thought it would be a very great hardship, if the complaints of the subject were neither permitted to come before the House in the shape of a petition or parole evidence. He begged the members of administration to point out any other method, and he would readily adopt it.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it was no hardship on gentlemen now, after he had waited three weeks, and given them every fair opportunity of bringing forward their measures, to go into the committee of ways and means. It was not his intention to preclude information, but it would argue a very great inattention to his duty, if he should suffer the committee to be postponed in attending to what gentlemen might possibly wish to propose. The money bills of the present session were four-fold as numerous as they had formerly been, and if gentlemen were to delay the business of the supply from day to day, it was impossible to guess when it would be finished.

Mr. CORRY replied, it was not his intention to cause any delay; he wished to move an instruction to the committee to examine certain persons, which motion would not have taken up half so much time in the compliance with, as in arguing against it. Now this being the case, said he, will you comply with my motion to receive information, or will you insist upon the order of the day? If you do I shall vote against it.

The question being put, that the House do now resolve itself into a committee of ways and means, upon a division there appeared,

Ayes, - - 82 ——— Noes, - - 25

Mr. CORRY.—I have often been troublesome to the House, for which I have to apologize. I have a motion to bring forward, of which I have given notice, and it is unnecessary that gentlemen should be detained. It is proper they should know when they may go home; and, therefore, I take the liberty of asking the right hon. gentleman, [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] how many clauses are to be read before he arrives at that respecting the increased stamp-duties. If there are many, I request, for the convenience of gentlemen, that he will immediately bring forward the one I have mentioned.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER informed Mr. Corry that a number of clauses interfering, he would proceed immediately to that respecting the additional duties on newspapers, advertisements, &c.

The clause being read,

Mr. CORRY.—I rise to object to this clause, and am convinced that every gentleman will object to it on consideration. I must confess myself unprepared for a question of such great importance; much information is necessary to be delivered at the bar of this House, in order to throw proper light on the subject. It is not my intention, at present, to go into the merits of the bill for regulating the press. Its purpose was confessedly to oblige the authors and printers of papers to make themselves known; but its

being good or bad, constitutional or unconstitutional, is not the present object of discussion. The licentiousness of the press will doubtless be urged in justification of the tax upon advertisements, but I must insist that the licentiousness of the press has nothing to do with the matter, and that gentlemen will not bring it forward. Let the clause rest on its own merits.

Here Mr. Corry produced a petition from the printers of the city of Dublin, praying for the reduction of the said duties, which he read as part of his speech, stating, that the continuance of the tax must end in their ruin. He then instanced the conduct of England respecting the same branch of revenue. England, said he, in the course of sixteen years, has made but a small increase in her stamp-duties, and that gradually; but in this kingdom, in one year, you increase your duties twenty fold; a thing without precedent; without example. By the present disproportion of the tax, it is evident that the news-printers are at a certain loss; that with paper, printing, stamps, and workmanship, it is proveable they lose considerably; and evidences are ready at the bar to substantiate, on oath, the assertion. It is true that the revenue has not decreased; but that advertisements have decreased—a proof, that the expence has fallen, not upon the public at large, but upon a few individuals; and of course it must be acknowledged oppressive. It may be said that all people who are taxed, will object to taxes—will say they are burdensome and oppressive, that they are partial and impolitic—Such an objection will not now hold good. There is not a man of landed interest, there is not a commercial man in Ireland, who will not say he has felt the effects of this clause. It precludes that facility of communication, so indispensably necessary in a commercial country—it precludes that information—that comparison of opinions—that free discussion so essential to a free kingdom.—He then went into a calculation, wherein he evinced much information, and called the attention of the House to a point of the greatest importance. The expences of government, said he, in their advertisements, proclamations, &c. in the year 1774, amounted to 2761.—but in 1785, it was augmented to 41531. without any visible or assigned cause; for what purposes it would be needless to mention. It was my intention to produce such information to the House, such matter of fact, as must evince the oppressiveness of the duty; but that information was refused in the first instance. The country papers of this kingdom, unless a mitigation takes place, must fall off; the consequence must be a defalcation in the revenue. There had been occurrences, when arithmetic was insufficient to answer gentlemen's purposes, and they called to their aid logic. They could make it appear that one and one made not two, but four; and doubtless the doctrine was good, if the statement of the duty on advertisements, &c. was considered; but it was to be observed that in taxes

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two and two did not always give four, but that two and two sometimes gave *one*, and it would appear that at least one third of the produce was to be placed to the account of government, and though it might swell the list, it was virtually unproductive to the nation—it was paying out of one pocket into the other. After a number of pointed observations, he mentioned the Kilkenny paper, from his own knowledge, as being greatly injured, and a helpless family thereby greatly distressed, from the increased duty. If the present tax was not against the liberty of the press, it was confessedly against the use of that liberty, which it must inevitably destroy.—He concluded with moving for a mitigation of the tax.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the monstrous increase of government expences in three quarters of a year, could be accounted for from the number of riots and disturbances, which made it necessary to proclaim rewards for the suppression thereof. The fears of the honourable gentleman were purely prophetic, as to the falling off of the country papers—He had no personal views in the tax—no wish to lay heavy on any particular body of men. No gentleman, said he, would be more averse than me to a hindrance of publication. I often publish myself, [a loud laugh] but the tax has only been increased in the proportion to the printer's charges; that is, they have only been taxed in proportion as they have taxed the public. The tax is a productive one, and I should be extremely sorry to relinquish any productive branch of the revenue. A clause is proposed to exempt government proclamations.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I am as warm and sincere a friend to the liberty of the press as any one who hears me; and the proof is, that I have exerted myself to correct the licentiousness which is the bane of its liberty. Of late printers have conducted themselves with due regard to the laws, and to that decorum which should ever mark their publications; and while they continue to do so, I shall not pursue further of them as have offended.

I do not find that the number of advertisements is likely to be diminished by the tax; but if it did stop those which are the peculiar disgrace to this country, by promising to set land to the highest bidder without any preference, whereby the poor tenantry are racked to death, I should think it a national benefit. Persons who put forward such shameful advertisements ought to be taxed to make some retribution to their country for the injury they do.

Another reason I have to be pleased with the tax is, that it will correct the style of the country—people will learn to concentrate their language, and express themselves in more concise terms.

As to putting down newspapers in the country, I apprehend that supposition is unfounded; for within these three days a new paper from a country town in the North has been sent up to me.

Mr. SWAN said he thought himself called upon to controvert an assertion advanced by the honourable gentleman who made the motion. He had stated that information had been refused him in the first instance; how that could happen he was at a loss to account, for particular directions had been given that every book and account at the stamp-office, &c. should be open for his inspection. There was no account there that would not bear investigation.

Mr. CORRY rose to explain. He assured the honourable gentleman that he had misconstrued him—that the words which fell from him had no such allusion. It was his intention to have moved for a committee of the House on an affair of such importance, in order that the necessary evidence might be laid before them, and it was there the information had been refused; it was refused by that House, and not the honourable gentleman, whose candour and liberality he admitted. Every source of information, he allowed, was open to him, and he experienced the greatest politeness and civility from every officer in that department, both superior and subordinate. He then adverted to the addition to the post-office act, passed last night. What, said he, is the tendency of this addition? It goes to the abridgment of parliamentary privilege, and is a further taxation of eight or nine thousand pounds per annum. You must now learn to write in fair, round, legible characters, the whole supercription, figures, date, &c. but that is not all; you must be known to be in a certain town or place, and from that one place only your letters will pass. So that the motions of a member were to be journalized by government, and no doubt there would be occasion for proper officers for the purpose. He upbraided the Chancellor of the Exchequer with duplicity, in bringing it forward in so thin a House. The committee of supply was the proper place for its discussion. He then returned to the point in debate and said, that his fears for the fall of the country papers were stiled merely prophetic, but they amounted to a moral certainty, in as much as any branch of trade, whose requisite expences exceeded its profits, must fall to decay. He had heard, indeed, many prophecies delivered by that oracle on the treasury bench. What else than a prophecy induced them not to lay on no new taxes? Nothing but because they had prophesied that the old ones would be productive. Thus, when any thing is mentioned by a member on this side of the House, which has a future aspect, it is visionary and prophetic; but on the other side, solid, forcible, and substantial. He begged pardon for so long troubling the House, but he had forgot one circumstance, which was within

the circle of his own knowledge and experience, and which would make more than a volume of argument to shew the necessity of mitigating the tax on advertisements. Some land was to be sold, under an execution; it was in consequence advertised, the expence of which came to 20*l.* and the expence of the advertisement duty was 12*l.* out of the 20*l.* Surely, were there no other arguments, this were sufficient to convince gentlemen of the oppressiveness of the tax.

Mr. FORBES.—It gives me much pleasure to observe that the treasury bench is about to turn itself into an academy for the cultivation of the belles lettres, the improvement of the national language, and the study of phraseology. Certainly in every nation the people are to resort to the court as a standard for the elegance and purity of their language. But it is strange that the right honourable gentleman has never given specimens of that brevity and conciseness he so much wishes to inculcate. I observe, by the words of the resolution, the right honourable gentleman, and the other servants of the crown, reserve to themselves the sole and exclusive right of indulging themselves, in proclamations, in all the profusion of language, and giving a full scope to their genius for amplification; while a sober citizen is compelled, by a tax, to use fewer words than are necessary to express his meaning, and that too on his immediate business.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I shall, as much as possible, endeavour not only to diminish the number of proclamations, but to make those which government are obliged to publish, as short as may be; and being now upon the subject of proclamations, I am sorry to say that much of the great expence complained of is owing to the supineness of magistrates and country gentlemen. Government never should interfere but where the ordinary means of keeping the peace have been tried, and found ineffectual; whereas it is the common practice, when any outrage happens, any taking of forcible possessions, or the like, for country gentlemen, without exerting themselves, immediately to apply to government for a proclamation; which is seldom refused.—However, when I am applied to, I shall not fail to represent such compliance as improper, except it shall appear that the magistrates and country gentlemen have exerted themselves without effect.

I shall enforce my argument with an instance in point, to prove that if country gentlemen would exert themselves, the necessity for proclamations would be much lessened. Last summer, in the county, within a mile of my house, a person kept forcible possession; and it was said could not be dislodged. The sheriff of the county of Limerick came to me to take my advice about calling on the army for assistance, and I desired that he should by no means do so, as I was convinced the gentlemen of the country

could effect the business without any military aid. When the sheriff was gone, I took my horse, and unarmed and unattended, but by a single servant, rode over to the person who kept possession. I expostulated with him upon the folly and wickedness of his conduct, and assured him that if he did not surrender the place in half an hour, I would assemble the gentlemen of the country, who would not only dispossess him, but lay him in the jail of Limerick. The person, intimidated by this determined conduct, immediately surrendered the place; and if gentlemen of influence in the different counties would always act so, forcible possessions would be unheard of.

Mr. BROWNLOW, in support of the motion, said that the freedom of the press was materially affected by the present tax. He instanced a paper in Belfast, whose circulation was considerably checked by its operation.

Mr. BÜRGH (of Oldtown) said the tax was an oppressive one; and if revenue was wanting, a less grievous substitute might be found. He said it had been admitted that there was an end of licentiousness in the papers against government. If that was the case, which he was sure it was, it would be equally base in government to oppress the printers, as it would be base in printers wantonly to libel government.

Mr. WILLIAM TODD JONES said that government papers were sent to different parts of the North free of any expence, so willing were they to preclude the circulation of papers of a contrary feature.

The question being put that the tax do stand as of last year, there appeared,

Ayes, - - 118 ——— Noes, - - 51

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then proposed the tax on insurances to be the same as last year. He stated, that though in the beginning of last year the number of insurances had fallen, from the necessity which the tax imposed of taking out new policies, yet that being now pretty much over, the tax was rising, and he thought would turn out very productive. The tax, in his mind, had one great recommendation—it did not affect the poor.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he admitted that 'till there was longer experience, there could be no certainty that this tax would lessen the number of the insured; but that there was reason to presume it would have that consequence, because previous to the imposition of this tax, the insurance companies cleared ten per cent on their stock; consequently those who insured, paid even then for being insured, considerably more than the exact

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equivalent of the risk. Now an addition of one shilling per cent. tax, above 2s. 6d. per cent, which is the rate that the bulk of the insured pay to the underwriters, amounts to 40 per cent. addition to that payment, which is already more than the real value; and of course the tax tends to discourage insurers.

Another objection to this tax is, that it discourages a species of negotiation which is the reverse of gaming; for the man who does not insure his house, when he can do it at a reasonable price, games deep; whereas he who does insure, proceeds on an opposite principle. Thus it appears that whilst our financial operations do on one hand excite the spirit of gaming, by creating lotteries, those pests of this city and sources of idleness and drunkenness, they do on the other hand discourage its opposite principle of caution and sure dealing.

Mr. HARTLEY mentioned that he had received petitions in order to be presented, if the House would have permitted him, from two very respectable classes of men—the merchants insuring their property; and the different companies of insurers—both of whom stated the tax as exorbitant, not less than forty per cent. on insurance; and therefore extremely injurious to trade.

Mr. BUSHE.—In my opinion this is the fairest tax that ever was laid; it affects property, and only considerable property, which, by paying the tax, becomes secured. No man is compelled to pay it; therefore it is voluntary. No man without property can be affected by it at all; and it has one very desirable, though uncommon circumstance attending it—the whole tax goes into the public coffer.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he had received a petition, purporting to be a petition from the merchants of Corke, against the tax on insurances; but on comparing it with that presented by the Dublin insurance companies, he found them agree word for word; so that he had no doubt they came out of the same shop, and believed the whole contained but the sentiments of the insurance companies, whose object was merely their own profit, not the advantage of the merchants, though they had procured them to put their names to the petition. Though the companies complained so loudly, he said, the tax fell not upon them, but upon the persons insuring, who eventually might receive considerable benefit, as the companies did not immediately. The shilling, he said, was not to be compared with the 2s. 6d. which is the insurance premium, but with the advantages that might be acquired by it; therefore it should not be stated as forty per cent; but as one shilling in an hundred pounds. Upon the whole, he approved of the tax, and would vote for it.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he saw but little effect from any petition presented by some members from their constituents, when they in-

roduced them in a particular manner to the House. For his own part he must say, that this, with other taxes, were next to a land tax, and he reprobated the idea.

Mr. WOLFE recommended a system of economy. He regretted that a late misfortune in his family prevented his attendance in his place, as usual, when a tax on newspapers, and a violent attack, in the post-office regulation, was made on the privileges of that House. By the latter, he said, the member who franked the letter was obliged to be in the town where the letter was put into the office, otherwise it would be charged. These swelling taxes he thought looked like daring the people into public expences.

The resolution was agreed to, after which it was agreed to report progress.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an additional duty on wine, hides, beer, ale, and other goods and merchandizes therein mentioned, and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, and of all cambricks and lawns, except of the manufacture of Great Britain, and of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain and the British plantations, and of all glais, except from Great Britain.

A bill for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.

A bill for the advancement of trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain rates and duties upon the portage and conveyance of all letters and packets within this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

A bill to promote the linen and hempen manufactures, by increasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail-cloth, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

Which were received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1786.

Mr. GARDINER presented a petition of the inhabitants of the barony of Donore, in the county of Dublin, setting forth, that an act was passed for the better paving, cleansing and lighting the streets, lanes and alleys of the city of Dublin, and the liberties thereunto adjoining; and that the petitioners, in consideration of the inability of the major part of them to discharge their proportion of the taxes necessary for the purposes aforesaid, have been excepted out of the said act; that the petitioners have observed, with infinite satisfaction, the wholesome regulations which have been lately carried into execution for the better paving, cleansing, lighting and otherwise improving the city of Dublin, and such of the liberties thereof as have been placed under the directors and commissioners by said act appointed, and humbly apprehend that the health and safety of the inhabitants of the city and its liberties will be further promoted by extending the provisions of the act to the barony of Donore, the principal avenues of which are the chief thoroughfares for bringing building materials into the city, and also provisions from the counties of Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow and Wexford, and which avenues are at present broken up and impassable; that the petitioners being informed that a bill has lately been presented to the House for the purpose of consolidating into one act the various statutes which have been hitherto made for similar purposes, humbly presume to express their wishes to be included in the said bill; that the petitioners, willing to contribute in proportion to their ability, to defray the expense of paving, lighting and cleansing their barony, humbly propose to pay in such manner as to the House shall seem fit, to the directors and commissioners of the paving board, such sum or sums of money as shall appear on an average of the last ten years to have been annually levied by presentments on their barony, for the paving, lighting and cleansing the same; and praying that their barony may be included in such further act as the wisdom of the House shall find it expedient to pass for the purposes aforesaid.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said that though it was highly flattering to the gentlemen that composed the paving board, to find so large a portion of the inhabitants of Dublin desirous to be under their direction in this respect, yet at the same time he was of opinion their desire could not be complied with; for though there were some of the inhabitants of that barony rich enough to bear the necessary tax of paving, cleansing and lighting, yet the majority were too indigent to pay it.

The House, pursuant to order, resolved into a committee on the bill for consolidating into one law, and rendering more effective

tual the powers granted by several acts of parliament for paving, lighting and cleansing the streets of Dublin, &c.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL observed, that in this bill as well as the one which passed before, the execution of the work was vested in the directors and commissioners; the latter, indeed, were gentlemen who gave a due and proper attendance, for which they were considered, but the former were right honourable and honourable persons, idle men, who sometimes attended, and sometimes did not, residing partly in town and partly in the country. He saw no reason, therefore, why the direction was taken from the citizens, to whom the matter more certainly belonged.

Mr. GARDINER defended the present arrangement, and said that the manner in which this business was carried on before, was such as justified the alteration; and he concluded with observing, that though the commissioners were exceedingly active and intelligent, it was necessary that persons of responsibility should have the direction.

A petition of the gentry and principal inhabitants of the town of Roscrea, in the county of Tipperary, and neighbourhood thereof, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that the town of Roscrea is upwards of forty miles distant from the assizes town of the county of Tipperary, and that the petitioners have laboured under many difficulties for want of a bridewell or other place of sufficient security in which the neighbouring magistrates could be warranted by law to commit and lodge offenders against the public peace, until they could with convenience be transmitted to take their trials at the general assizes of the county aforesaid; that the town of Roscrea and neighbourhood thereof contain a great number of opulent and industrious inhabitants, and that their police has suffered extremely, and many notorious offenders let go at large for want of a proper place to answer the purposes of legal confinement; and therefore praying relief.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON presented to the House, according to order, a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled an act for the relief of prisoners charged with felony or other crimes who shall be acquitted or discharged by proclamation, respecting their fees, and giving a recompence for such fees; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of ways and means, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a further duty of 2d. be laid on every pound weight of manufactured tobacco which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty a duty of 40s. be paid by every factor or person selling home-made spirits in this kingdom, and not being a distiller or licensed as a retailer, at any time between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive.

Resolved, That a duty of 40s. be laid on every one hundred pounds weight of gun-powder, not being of British manufacture, which shall be imported into this kingdom during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a bounty be paid on all sound and merchantable gun-powder made in this kingdom, which shall be exported at any time between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, after the rate of 6s. 6d. for every one hundred pounds weight thereof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to compensate for the duties paid on the importation of the salt-petre and brimstone used in manufacturing the same.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there shall for the several and respective things herein-after mentioned, which shall be written or engrossed, the several and respective rates, impositions, charges and sums of money be raised, levied, collected and paid unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from the 25th day of March, 1786, to the 25th day of March, 1787, inclusive.

Resolved, That a duty of 9l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any dispensation to hold two ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, or both a dignity and a benefice, or any other dispensation or faculty from the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, or master of the faculties for the time being.

Resolved, That a duty of 9l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant or letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, of any honour, dignity, promotion, franchise, liberty or privilege, to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, or exemplification of the same, commissions of rebellion in process always excepted.

Resolved, That a duty of 9l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any sum of money exceeding 200l. which shall pass the great seal of Ireland.

Resolved, That a duty of 9l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 200l. per annum.

Resolved, That a duty of 4l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any pardon (except the pardon passed in forma pauperis) of or for any crime or offence, or of any sum of money or forfeiture whatever, or on which any warrant or reprieve, relaxation for any fines, corporal punishment, or other forfeiture, shall be engrossed or written.

Resolved, That a duty of 4l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, of any sum of money not exceeding 200l. nor less than 100l. which shall pass the great seal of Ireland.

Resolved, That a duty of 4l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant of any office or employment which shall be above the value of 50l. per annum, and under the value of 200l.

Resolved, That a duty of 6l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any admission of any fellow of the college of physicians, or of any attorney, clerk, advocate, proctor, notary, or other officer or officers in any court whatsoever, except commissioners for taking affidavits, and except such officer be an annual officer in any corporation or inferior court, whose office is under the value of 10l. a year in salary, fees or other perquisites, or any appeal from the court of admiralty or prerogative court, or from any archiepiscopal court.

Resolved, That a duty of 3l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any grant of lands in fee, lease for years, or other grant or profit not herein particularly charged, that shall pass the great seal of Ireland, or the seal of the Exchequer, custodiam leases excepted.

Resolved, That a duty of 3l. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any presentation or donation which shall pass the great seal of Ireland, or upon which any collation to be made by any archbishop or bishop, or any presentation or donation by any patron whatsoever, of or to any benefice, dignity, or spiritual or ecclesiastical promotion whatsoever, of the value of 100l. a year, and less than 200l. a year, and of 6l. if of the value of 200l. or upwards, the value to be ascertained by the certificate of the archbishop or bishop, or vicar-general of the diocese, provided always that two or more benefices, episcopally united, shall be deemed and taken to be one benefice only.

Resolved, that a duty of 15s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any exemplification of what nature whatsoever, that shall pass the seal of any court whatsoever, except of decrees of the court of Chancery.

Resolved, That a duty of 15s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed, or written, during the time aforesaid, any institution that shall pass the seal of any archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or other ordinary or ecclesiastical court whatsoever, provided that an institution to two or more benefices, episcopally united, shall be considered as to a single benefice.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any conveyance, surrender of grants or offices, release or other deed whatsoever, which shall be enrolled of record in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or in any other court of record whatsoever.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any exemplification of a decree of the court of Chancery, under the great seal.

Resolved, That a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of error, certiorari or appeal, except to the delegates.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any sentence that shall be given in the court of Admiralty, or any attachment that shall be made out of the said court of Admiralty, or any relaxation of any such attachment.

Resolved, That a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any probate of a will or letters of administration for any estate above the value of 30l. and not of the value of 100l.; a duty of 10s. where the amount thereof shall be of the value of 100l. and not of the value of 300l. a duty of 20s. when the amount thereof shall be of the value of 300l. and not of the value of 600l. a duty of 30s. when of the amount of 600l. and not of 1000l. and a duty of 40s. when of the value of 1000l. and upwards.

Resolved, That a duty of 20s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any commission that shall be issued from any court whatever, for taking affidavits.

Resolved, That a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any recognizance conditioned for the payment of money or performance of covenants or agreements, statute staple or statute merchant, or entered of record in any court or office, except such recognizances as shall be entered into by persons applying for licenses to sell by retail beer, ale, wine, strong waters or other liquors, which recognizance shall be considered as bonds, and shall pay accordingly.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of covenant for levying a fine.

Resolved, That a duty of 5s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any record of nisi prius or postea.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of entry for suffering a common recovery.

Resolved, That a duty be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written any judgment whatsoever which shall be signed by the master of any office, or his deputy or secondary, or by any prothonotary or his secondary, deputy or clerk, or any other officer belonging to any of the courts at the city of Dublin, who have power or usually do or shall sign judgments, at the rate of 5s. for every judgment engrossed or written on such skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any commissions issuing out of any ecclesiastical court not herein otherwise particularly charged.

Resolved, That a duty of 7s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any warrant, monition or personal decree in the court of Admiralty, except in suits for the recovery of seamen's wages.

Resolved, That a duty of 2s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any indenture, lease or deed poll, not hereby otherwise charged, except indentures for binding poor parish, or other poor children supported by public or private charities, apprentices.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any writ of habeas corpus.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any special bail to be taken in any of the courts of the city of Dublin, or before any of the judges of the said courts, or in any court whatsoever, or any appearance upon such special bail.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any decree or dismissal made by or in the courts of Chancery or Exchequer.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any common bail, to be filed in any court whatsoever, and any appearance that shall be made upon such bail.

Resolved, That a duty of 2s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any admission into any corporation or company.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any affidavit, except such affidavits as shall be taken before the officers of his Majesty's customs or excise, or any justice or justices of the peace, or before a magistrate of any corporation acting as a justice of the peace, or acting in any court of conscience or of summary jurisdiction, or before any judge of assize, or commission of oyer and terminer, relative to prosecutions on trials or indictments, or to civil bills, or that shall be made for the purpose of raising or accounting for public money, and except affidavits made relative to the hempen and flaxen manufactures, or to the payment of corn premiums, or made before the trustees of any turnpike relative to the roads or tolls of such turnpike, or affidavits made before the Dublin Society; and that a duty of 2d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, upon which any copy of such affidavit as is herein-before charged that shall be filed or read in any court whatsoever, shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any original writ (except such original upon which a writ of *capias* issues) *subpoena*, writ of *capias* *quo minus*, writ of *dedimus* *potestatem*,

to take answers, examine witnesses or appoint guardians, or any other writ whatsoever, or any other process or mandate that shall issue out of or pass the seals of any of the courts at the city of Dublin, or any other court whatsoever holding plea, where the debt or damages doth amount to 40s. or above, or the thing in demand is of that value.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any entry of any action in the mayor's or sheriffs courts of the city of Dublin, and in courts in all corporations, and other courts whatsoever, out of which no writs, process or mandate issue, holding plea where the debt or damage doth amount to 40s. or above.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any rule or order, except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments made or given in any of the courts at the city of Dublin, either courts of law or equity, which shall be taken out.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any copy of such rules or orders, except in causes prosecuted upon indictments, or which relate to presentments entered, or the copies of any other records or proceedings in any of the said courts of the city of Dublin, not hereby otherwise charged.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written during the time aforesaid, any citation or monition made in the prerogative court, or in any ecclesiastical court, or any libel or allegation, deposition, answer, sentence or final decree, or any inventory exhibited in the prerogative court, or in any ecclesiastical court, or in the court of admiralty, or whereupon any copies of them respectively shall be engrossed or written, except in suits for the recovery of seamen's wages.

Resolved, That a duty of 2s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any charter party, policy of assurance, passport, or any protest, procuration, letter of attorney, except warrants of attorney for entering judgments on bonds, or any other notarial act whatsoever.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written during the time aforesaid, any warrant of attorney for entering judgment on any bond.

Resolved, That a duty of 1s. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall

be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any bond, release, contract, or other obligatory instrument.

Resolved, That a duty of 1d. be paid for ever skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any depositions taken in the court of Chancery or court of Exchequer, except the paper drafts of depositions taken by virtue of any commission before they are engrossed, which are not herein before charged.

Resolved, That a duty of 1d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any copy of any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatories, depositions or other proceedings whatsoever taken in the court of Chancery or court of Exchequer, or in any court of equity.

Resolved, That a duty of 2d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any copy of any will attested by the proper officer of the prerogative court or any ecclesiastical court.

Resolved, That a duty of 2d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleadings whatsoever in any court of law, or any copy thereof.

Resolved, That a duty of 1d. be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every almanack or calendar for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be printed on one side only of any one sheet or piece of paper only, and of 2d. for every other almanack or calendar for any one particular year; and that for every almanack or calendar made to serve for several years, the respective rates aforesaid shall be paid for every such year.

Resolved, That there be paid, during the time aforesaid, for all papers containing public news, intelligence or occurrences, a duty of 1d. for every sheet or piece of paper less than a sheet on which such news, intelligence or occurrences shall be printed.

Resolved, That there be paid, during the time aforesaid, for every pamphlet or paper not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio so printed, a duty after the rate of 2s. for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy or impression thereof.

Resolved, That for and upon every piece of vellum, parchment or paper on which shall be engrossed or written the admission of any student or barrister into the society of King's Inns, there shall be paid a duty of 5l.

Resolved, That there be paid, during the time aforesaid, a duty of 1s. for every advertisement to be contained in or published

in any gazette, newspaper or journal, to be published weekly or oftener; or in any other printed paper or pamphlet whatsoever, being dispersed or made public yearly, monthly, or at any other interval of time; and a further duty for the same after the rate of 1s. for every ten lines which every such advertisement shall contain over and above the first ten lines, each line to be taken according to the length commonly used in such gazette, journal, pamphlet or newspaper.

Resolved, That a duty of 2s. 6d. be paid for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment on which shall be engrossed or written, during the time aforesaid, any bill, answer, plea, demurrer, replication, rejoinder, interrogatory, deposition taken by commission, or any other pleading whatsoever in the courts of Chancery or Exchequer.

Resolved, That for and upon every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which shall be engrossed or written any memorial of any deed, conveyance, will or devise which shall be registered in the public office for registering such memorials, a duty of 1s. shall be paid, over and above all other duties payable thereon.

Resolved, That for and upon all insurances from fire which shall be made at any time between the 25th day of March, 1786, and the 25th day of March, 1787, there shall be paid a duty after the rate of 1s. for every 100l. insured.

Resolved, That for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, upon which any receipt or other discharge for any legacy left by any will or other testamentary instrument, or for any share or part of a personal estate, divided by force of the statute of distributions, shall be engrossed, written or printed, the amount whereof shall not exceed the value of 20l. a stamp duty of 2s. 6d.; and where the amount thereof shall be of the value of 20l. and not amounting to 100l. a stamp duty of 5s.; and where the amount thereof shall be of the value of 100l. and upwards, a stamp duty of 20s. be charged thereon, except such legacies as shall be left to the wife, children or grand-children of the person making such will or testamentary instrument, or shall be divided among them by force of the statute of distributions.

Resolved, That for every piece of vellum or parchment, or piece or sheet of paper, upon which shall be engrossed or written any exception or exceptions to any answer filed in any court of equity within this kingdom, a duty of 1s. for each exception so written or engrossed as aforesaid, shall be paid during the time aforesaid.

Resolved, That towards raising the further supply granted to his Majesty for promoting and carrying on inland navigations in Ireland, the several duties on coaches, chariots, berlins, calashes, chaises, chairs, cards, dice, and upon all wrought and manufactured gold and silver plate, which were granted by an act pass-

sed in the third year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, for the term of twenty-one years, and have been continued by several subsequent acts since, to the 25th of March, 1786, be continued, raised, levied and paid to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the further term of twenty-one years, from the 25th day of March, 1786.

The question being put, that the House do agree with the committee in these resolutions, it passed; and leave was given to bring in one or more bill or bills pursuant to said resolutions.

The SECRETARY OF STATE presented a bill for building a bridge over the northern channel of the river Lee, in the city of Cork, and suburbs thereof, and for other purposes relative to the said city; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. ANNESLEY presented a bill for making, widening and repairing the road leading from the city of Dublin to Malahide, and for erecting turnpike gates, and receiving tolls thereout in aid of the barony presentments, and for appointing trustees for carrying the said purposes into execution; which was received and read the first time.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1786.

It was ordered that the Speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown to make out a new writ for electing a burghess to serve in parliament for the borough of Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, in the room of George Roth, Esq; deceased.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved the order of the day.

Mr. MASON took the chair, and proceeded in the reading of the great money bill. When that clause was read which imposes an additional duty on the importation of foreign herrings,

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he held in his hand a petition from the exporting merchants of the city of Cork, against the additional duty on all foreign herrings imported, which stated, in general, that the north-west fishery was totally insufficient to supply the consumption even of this kingdom in the article of herrings, not to mention the great quantity exported from Cork for the use of the West India islands. From this he adverted to the necessary consideration, whether the exports of the nation would not consequently be affected by the additional duty laid on this session? In regard to the great commercial city of Cork, he was authorized to say, that in consequence of this duty its exports had been lessened one-half at least below what it had been in former years.

Ireland, he said, had in this respect acted with a policy very different from that of England. When the Isle of Man had been found the central mart of the herring fishery, the British legislature only laid on the duty of 3s. 4d. on every barrel. But it was not in a commercial view alone that this duty was distressing: As affecting the poor, in a great necessary of life, it included an additional calamity, the more especially when it is considered that at the approaching season of the year the common people, from a religious necessity, depended much on this article of food. He contended that even according to the duty of 6s. on every barrel, and 2s. bounty on herrings, Ireland had in its favour 8s. over those of foreign import. For his own part, he was willing to adhere to any measure short of a total prohibitory duty. The value of every barrel of herrings he conceived to be about 12s. Now if a duty of 6s. 5d. were laid on such value of every 12s. he believed gentlemen would allow it to be fully sufficient. But as they were going on, laying tax after tax, it now amounted to 13s. on every 20s. worth of herrings. It was a heavy concern, which affected the very being of the people, and equally unwise as impolitic; because they could not shew in any country of the world where a prohibitory duty was laid on a very essential necessary of life, as this certainly was, particularly as it was evident they could not supply themselves with this article. He asked them, did they lay this prohibitory duty on corn before they were enabled, by the progress of agriculture, to supply their internal consumption? On the contrary, they held out bounties, both inland and coastways, until their supply was sufficient not only for domestic consumption, but even for that of export; and a clause was inserted to supersede the necessity of parliamentary application, by marking the immediate rise at market when the importation of corn was allowable. By the prohibition of the import of foreign herrings, individuals at large were not only affected in the city of Cork, but it extended a peculiar degree of hardship on those employed in particular branches. The numbers employed in cooperage, the men usually engaged in re-barrelling, and the various branches of manufacture, were equally interested.—He then divided the subject into three different heads, and shewed how each was affected. He particularly described how materially it went to injure an article of commerce. In the memory of man it was an established branch of trade to the West Indies, and though he did not doubt the right honourable gentleman's patriotism in having a regard to the welfare and interest of the empire in general, by the establishment of such a duty, yet he ventured to assert that it would be productive of very injurious effects to this kingdom in general, and to the British colonies in particular. Under this idea, he thought it would be the wisest measure to take off the prohibitory duty, and leaving it as formerly settled, until proper witnesses

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should be examined, then resolve on that system which should appear the most wise and politic. The people of England had uniformly formed a different system, from the time of Edward III. Even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, such a regard was paid to the fishery, that the legislature gravely told the people that fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays were established, not in conformity to any papist idea, but as protestants in the laudable act of encouraging the British fisheries. He then enumerated the different acts passed for the protection of the fisheries, particularly that established for the white herring fishery in the reign of his late Majesty, which expresses, that foreigners could import fish into Great Britain, as well as natives; and in the progress of all these acts, the idea of a prohibitory duty was never admitted. He on the whole declared that he never knew any measure so imperfectly devised, and so impolitically carried into a law. He therefore moved, that instead of the words "ten shillings," there be inserted "six shillings and five pence" and after shilling, "in lieu of all duties on the importation of herrings."

Mr. CONYNGHAM said that if any injury could possibly ensue in consequence of the duty complained of, it must be to the linen manufacture, as the Swedes, having no linen manufacture of their own, took up their returns in that article. The Isle of Man had been mentioned, and the duty of only 3s. 4d. on every barrel of herrings, as a proof of mildness on the part of the English legislature; but he begged leave to observe, that in that case this duty was intended not as a prohibitory duty on foreign herrings, of which there was no sort of recognition, but merely on the salt with which they had been barrelled. Did any gentleman suppose, if England entertained the least notion that Ireland supplied the colonies with foreign fish, that she could admit of the circuitous supply of this foreign fish from Cork, and not immediately order and encourage the vessels to come to the great exporting towns of England, and take herself advantage of this market? The right honourable gentleman had also emphatically mentioned the distress which the poor of Cork would experience in consequence of this duty. He would ask, if the city of Cork were to experience so much adversity on this occasion, why not every other city and town in Ireland, whose poor were certainly not more opulent? He could prove from documents he then held in his hand, that very recently (and he mentioned the years) double the quantity of herrings had been exported from this kingdom to those imported; and consequently the poor could not be so much affected, as a surplus would not have been sent from the market, had they stood in so much need of what was called, but which he denied to be, a necessary of life. He had been upwards of 25 years in parliament, and it had been his constant endeavour to establish the Irish fishery; and now that it was in a fair way, he could not easily relinquish so

important an object. The importation of foreign herrings was tally inimical to this object. He begged to know how the right honourable gentleman's friends in Cork would like the importation of large cargoes of Danish beef into that city for export to the West India colonies? Most certainly their feelings would be much irritated. But not to dwell upon such circumstances, there was a preference at the home market from the excellence of the fish. He was certain that two herrings caught in the county of Donegal would weigh six foreign herrings, and that 400 of the former would fill a barrel; and though the interest of the Cork coopers might feel some temporary injury, yet the general benefit was of more infinite consideration. He then went into the state of the export and import for some years past. In the year 1777, the import of foreign herrings amounted to 20,000 barrels, but in the year 1785 the number of Irish herrings exported amounted to 35,000 barrels. Did not this important fact prove, that they were able to meet the foreign fish at a market? and that we were not only able to supply the home consumption, but also that of the colonies; and did it not therefore appear highly improper to arrest the progress of our fishery in this state of prosperity? He allowed that Swedish herrings might be purchased at 18s. the barrel from Gottenburgh; but why should we allow what England would not allow, that foreign import should be suffered to hurt the product of the home market?

Mr. DAY observed, on the petition, that it did not go to the opposition of any tax, but merely to the modification of a duty. He wondered why the House should suffer the doctrine to go abroad, that it would oppose petitions against taxes, when the practice of England was different, which received petitions against several taxes, particularly the shop-tax. He was for supporting the motion; and he thought that a city so high in commercial consequence as Cork should demand every attention.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN mentioned the policy of the French, in getting the Gottenburgh herring trade into their own hands, for the last three or four years, which he was afraid would be hurtful to us. England saw through this policy, and in consequence turned every attention to the improvement of their own fisheries, and employed Mr. Knox to prepare a system of the Scotch fisheries.

Mr. KEARNEY called upon gentlemen to recollect that the rise in value of all the provisions of life made herrings a necessary, in his own memory butter had risen from 26s. to 50s. the hundred; so had beef, mutton, and other animal food in proportion; therefore the poor had no resource but in the cheap article of herrings; and he asked, if it was either humane or wise to deprive them of this article? He could speak from his own observation, that nine-

tenths of the southern poor scarcely tasted animal food. The example of England should teach them not to be merely confined to the herring fishery, when they had equal access to the Newfoundland and whale fisheries. Corn was mentioned; but the four-fifths of the Irish did not feed on wheaten bread. All other prohibitory duties only went to affect the wealthy part of the nation; but here two millions of people were to suffer from the prohibition which was now agitated. In regard to the common people of England, it was well known that salt fish constituted a very small part of their food, but here it was the contrary case, and the comparison did not hold on this head between the two countries.

Mr. ORDE expressed his regret that he was not time enough in the House when a matter of such importance was first brought forward. Though he professed that every regard should be paid to the poor, yet he was fully of opinion that a mode of investigation should be adopted, to know how far the poor could be affected by the present duty. In respect to the importation of foreign herrings for export to the colonies, he was sensible that it was utterly impossible. England, he said, could never agree to Ireland's possessing the power to supersede her in the supply of her own colonies; for it was an absurdity to imagine that she would allow Cork to import foreign fish for the supply of the colonies, in the face of all the acts made to the contrary, and to the detriment of her own market; and it was evident that the reduction of the duty would tend to this. It was a question of doubt whether this duty would ultimately injure Cork. It did not appear that it would, because circumstances were not yet ripe to decide that question, as a certain time must pass to justify the certainty of such an event, by waiting the success of the fishery. But he declared himself far from pressing on this head, as, on the contrary, he thought an opening should be left to come at the truth, and then apply a remedy; for it was the farthest from his idea of the matter, to join in any act which could possibly press on the necessities of the people. He would, however, repeat it again, that there was an urgency to cut off the export of foreign fish to the colonies, to the injury of Great Britain; and even in the colonies there existed a law to prohibit the import of all foreign fish, except that of Great Britain and Ireland. He was therefore against the reduction of the present duty, until it could be positively ascertained to prove a national injury.

Mr. RICHARD LONGFIELD observed that he was not so sanguine as to expect, after the declaration of the last right honourable member, that the merchants of Cork were to succeed in their application. So much had been already done and said by the right honourable gentleman who moved on this head, that little remained for him to mention; but he must remark that notwithstanding

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all the bounties received by a right honourable gentleman for the encouragement of the northern fisheries, yet during the months of October, November and December last, not one ship arrived with herrings at the port of Cork, for the supply of its home or foreign markets. It was said that the export of foreign herrings was a contraband trade from Cork; but England herself had contrived to make it a contraband trade, by procuring foreign fish to be brought to the Isle of Man, and then claiming the bounty on exportation, as the fish of Great Britain. It was well known that Cork had always the provision trade, and England had never interfered, notwithstanding it was known that foreign herrings formed a material part of it. He insisted that Ireland was not now, more than ever, to be restrained in this respect. He was no friend to smuggling; but if it was a contraband trade, it was the business of the colonies to examine into that matter, and if found contrary to law, to arrest its progress—they were exported as Irish and received as such. It was evident that the home fishery was not sufficient for either domestic or foreign consumption, and this conviction led him to vote that no more than six shillings and three pence should be laid, instead of the present duty.

Mr. ORDE replied, that though the honourable gentleman had mentioned that the trade had been long carried on in this manner, and so exported as Irish herrings, yet it should be prevented, as it was not the way of establishing a national faith with Great Britain. He, however, wished that such an opening might be left for accommodation as might be productive of satisfaction on both sides. He again repeated, that the time of positive decision had not yet arrived, and he was of opinion that the time should be waited for before reduction.

Mr. RICHARD HELY HUTCHINSON remarked that all the prayer of the petition meant, was merely the liberty of importing such a quantity of herrings as to answer the necessities of the poor of Cork. Lent was approaching, when this necessary of life was most wanted, and if the duty was suffered to exist, so would the hardship involved in its consequences. The right honourable gentleman who principally opposed the motion had, in the course of two sessions, received 30,000*l.* for the encouragement of the fishery, and it was but a small consideration to admit as much as would relieve such a body of people for one season.

Mr. ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY said he was glad to find that the two right honourable Secretaries had differed on this occasion, and hoped they would do so in more than this single instance. He was, for his own part, certain that there was more fish on the north-west coast than was sufficient for the consumption of the kingdom, or its exportation. He was therefore against the motion.

Mr. CONYNCHAM said that he found himself happy in the encouragement given to the fishery, and the success of its progress. That 500 vessels were this season fishing on the coast, which so swarmed with fish that it could find employment for many hundreds more.

Mr. ORDE again expressed an earnest wish that such an opening should be left in the bill as should tend to a satisfactory accommodation on both sides.

Mr. KEARNEY said that the wants of the poor were not confined to lent only; during the whole winter their wants were equally pressing.

The SECRETARY OF STATE again mentioned that there was an evident scarcity of herrings, from the well known fact, that this year they were raised to treble the usual price. In respect to his differing with his right honourable friend, [Mr. Orde] he wished it to be known, that though he voted with him on some occasions, when part of his constituents did not, perhaps, entirely agree with him in that respect, yet the consciousness of acting right was a satisfaction that no occasion could make him forego. He would proceed to put his motion, and take the sense of the committee; but if he failed in that effort, he would follow it up with another motion, in which he hoped for their concurrence.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER expressed a regret that the two right honourable gentlemen, who had hitherto agreed so well, should differ in opinion on the present occasion. In point of time there could be little difference for an examination of facts, and then he should be happy to see his two right honourable friends in their usual habits of agreement.

The question being put on the original motion, the numbers appeared,

Ayes, - - 24 ——— Noes, - - 89

The SECRETARY OF STATE then moved, that a power be inserted in the bill to repeal or discontinue the duty, if found necessary.

A division having ensued, there appeared for the motion,

Ayes, - - 27 ——— Noes, - - 47

After which the committee went through the bill, the House resumed, and Mr. Mason reported.

A petition of the manufacturers of tanned leather resident in Belfast, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that this kingdom, from the great abundance of raw hides and mildness of the climate,

is peculiarly fitted for the manufacturing of tanned leather, if plentifully supplied with oak bark; that the petitioners have laboured under great difficulties these several years past on account of the scarcity of oak bark, being thereby prevented from bringing their goods to market as soon as they otherwise would have done, and oftentimes subjected them to the risk of a total loss of the same; that the petitioners conceive if there was a bounty granted on the importation of bark from the continent and from America, it would tend greatly to lessen their present difficulties, and that a bounty on the planting of oak trees would in time totally remove them; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of the corporation of tanners of the city of Dublin, under their common seal, on behalf of themselves and all others the tanners and manufacturers of leather in Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this kingdom has of late years very gradually declined, and if not encouraged and protected by the House will be soon totally lost to this kingdom, whereby not only the petitioners and those concerned in that trade will be reduced to the necessity of quitting the same, but also many other useful and necessary branches, in trade in which leather is worked up, will be much injured, and the price of the many articles manufactured with leather be greatly encreased; that the petitioners, with concern, see that the great exportation of raw materials to all foreign countries, almost duty free, has greatly contributed to prevent the tanning and manufacture of leather in this kingdom, and has prevented the exportation of tanned leather from this country to foreign markets, inasmuch that the exportation thereof has decreased three parts out of four during the last ten years, compared with the ten years next preceding; that the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that the scarcity and dearth of oak bark in this kingdom is another cause of the great decline of their manufacture, the price whereof has very greatly encreased these some years past, and prevented the petitioners from being able to procure a sufficient quantity thereof for the tanning of their raw materials, on such terms as to enable the petitioners and those of the tanning trade to manufacture their goods either for consumption at home, or to send them to foreign markets, on equal terms with other countries; that the petitioners, from the scarcity and dearth of bark in the year 1785, were in great danger of being reduced to difficulties and distress, and that had it not been for the coldness of that season the raw materials then on the petitioners hands would have perished, petitioners not being able to procure, on any terms, oak bark for saving the same; that the petitioners apprehend that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this country may, under proper encouragement, become a branch of business of great consequence to Ireland in general, as well as to the petitioners, who have embarked their entire substance therein, and spent their lives

in the pursuit and improvement thereof; that the petitioners apprehend and believe that if an additional duty be laid on the exportation of raw materials from this into foreign countries, and a bounty granted on the importation of oak bark into this kingdom from America, the East Country, Germany, and other parts of the continent of Europe from whence that article may be procured annually in any quantity for the supply of Irish tannage, together with a bounty on the exportation of manufactured leather, will assist our export of tanned leather, enable us to manufacture our raw material, prevent foreigners having a supply of that sort of leather fit for their use, make Ireland the mart for said goods, and necessitate foreigners to apply to us for our materials when manufactured, as the green commodity they bring from hence is by far superior to any they can supply themselves with from other markets; that the petitioners apprehend and believe they would be able to regain from foreign nations this branch of trade if the House should be pleased to take their case into consideration, and pass such laws for their relief as in their wisdom shall seem fit; and praying to be heard by themselves or counsel in support of the allegations of their petition.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for licensing hawkers and pedlars, petty chapmen and other persons; which was received and read the first time.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1786.

A petition of the joint presidents and assistants for the relief of the poor in the county of Limerick, and county of the city of Limerick, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that the poor-house of the city of Limerick was opened for the reception of the poor on the 18th of September, 1772, and all the poor who desired it were admitted, and all strolling beggars in and about the city were compelled either to go into the house, or quit their idle practices, so that for several years a beggar was not to be seen in or near said city, and they were maintained in the house at a very cheap rate, viz. for less than two-pence halfpenny a day, and a good deal of industry carried on; that in the year 1776 the poor-houses for the county of Limerick and county of the city of Limerick were united by act of parliament, and for several years the private subscriptions and public presentments kept the house, and a number of poor objects in it, in decent order; but the grand juries not thinking proper to present the usual sums, though recommended to do so by the judges from the bench, the funds became so low that the petitioners were not able to take in many poor objects who offered themselves, and were even under the disagreeable necessity of turning out many that were in the house, and of course the streets are now filled with beggars, to the

great annoyance of the public ; and the petitioners have been under the necessity of borrowing money at interest for the maintenance of those in the house, who are mostly cripples, insane, or too young to be turned out ; that the numbers maintained in the house daily since it was opened were nearly as follow :

From 1772 to 1773	-	-	26
1774	-	-	36
1775	-	-	48
1776	-	-	70
1777	-	-	88
1778	-	-	124
1779	-	-	135
1780	-	-	120
1781	-	-	139
1782	-	-	165
1783	-	-	148
1784	-	-	99
1785	-	-	75

and therefore praying that such permanent means may be devised for the support of the said united poor-houses, as to the House shall seem meet.

A petition of the tanners of the town and borough of Wexford, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tanning trade or manufacture of leather has been greatly on the decline in this kingdom for some years past, as appears by the very inconsiderable quantity exported from hence, in comparison to what formerly used to be ; that the petitioners apprehend that this arises in a great measure from the quantity of raw hides exported from this kingdom, and the scarcity of bark, which is become so very difficult to be procured that nothing but the uncommon coldness of the winter in the year 1785, prevented the green leather from perishing ; that the petitioners humbly beg leave to offer to the House, that an additional duty on the exportation of raw hides and calf skins, and a bounty on the importation of bark from Germany and other parts of the Continent, and from America, likewise a bounty on the exportation of tanned leather, would be the chief means of restoring the manufacture of leather in this kingdom to its former flourishing state, and of preventing it from falling into total ruin ; that the petitioners apprehend the taking off the tax of 20s. yearly, imposed on tanners by way of license, would be of material advantage, and much help the manufacture of leather in this country ; and therefore praying relief.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he wished to take the opinion of the House, whether he should not present the petition from the exporting merchants of the city of Cork, the complaint of which had been agitated in the committee last night, in order to produce witnesses at the bar of the House to prove the allegations of the same,

Mr. CHATTERTON supported the right of receiving the petition. It came, he said, from a very respectable body of men, who had found themselves aggrieved in a material article of their commerce, and it was but fair to bring it before the House, to give gentlemen an opportunity of speaking to the subject.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) said he thought in reason and justice that the petition should be received, as it complained of an interdiction of trade to a foreign market, and the cause of great domestic hardship. Gentlemen had spoke largely of the Irish fishery; but of what avail would it be to have fish at the Rosses, when no vessels were employed to bring them round to the southern ports. By any thing which had yet been advanced on that head it did not appear where this fish could be procured. At all events it was impolitic to lay a prohibitory duty on the import of herrings, before the fishery was established, as in the act of making the experiment the poor might starve.

Mr. CORRY said he wished that the House would not hastily decide on a point of such consequence; but if it was rejected on the mere score of being a petition against a tax, it was still a more dangerous circumstance, as it was for ever shutting the door against all complaints of burdensome taxes, however dangerous in their tendency.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN said he was of opinion the petition ought to be received, as he did not look upon it as a petition against a tax. In regard to petitions against taxes, a hardship might appear upon the face of that resolution by which they were refused; but if it was to be considered that the practice would be endless if once admitted, the justice of the original ground on which it was formed must be very apparent, which was to exclude frivolous complaints; but in the present instance, he thought, as no revenue was produced in consequence of the prohibition, it was not petitioning against a tax, but begging a mere matter of regulation.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he agreed in the opinion that petitions should not be received against actual taxes, but this was a very different case, which called not for repeal, but modification. It was a subject by which no man could lose any money, because no revenue had been expected by laying on the prohibition, and no multiplicity of petitions was to follow. There was also another light of infinite more consequence in which it ought to be viewed, for it comprehended in its object every branch of manufacture that now existed, or hereafter should exist in the city of Cork, as appeared evidently from its having already operated to diminish half its exports. It is not your herring trade only, said he, which will be affected by this prohibition, but your provision trade in general, as vessels once disappointed of full sorted

cargoes will have recourse to some other market, where they may be sure of not meeting such a disappointment, and thus your provision trade will be eventually knocked up. He then recapitulated some of the arguments he advanced the night before on this head, and concluded by declaring that his sole object in wishing the petition might be received, was to give the House an opportunity of being informed of facts by the examination of evidence at the bar.

Mr. BROWNLOW said the petition ought to be received, as it went not against the principle of a tax but its modification. It was like that of the printers calling for a mere regulation of an act productive of various ill consequences. He never would admit that there could exist any right to preclude the subject from the liberty of well-founded complaint.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said there was scarcely sufficient time to go through the weighty business of the House.—It was not his wish to interfere in the question; it might be assumed at another time, but he found himself under the necessity of moving for the order of the day to expedite the business of the nation.

Having made his motion a division ensued, when there appeared

Ayes - - 62 ——— Noes - - 36

The House having then resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Mason in the chair, the bill for the further advancement of trade was read through, reported, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

The House went into a committee on the bill for the better regulation of gaols.

Mr. GARDINER threw out some doubts whether the raising of a salary for inspectors would not be attended with inconvenience, as the counties, in many particulars, might look upon such salaries as burdensome, while those appointed, perhaps, might look upon such appointments as so many sinecure places, and leave their business to be done by others. He said the bill also provided that an inspector-general should be appointed, and he was at a loss to know what necessity there was for such an office.

Mr. GRIFFITH enforced the very great necessity there was for inspectors, as the only means of applying a remedy to the numerous abuses so long existing in our prisons, which, since the time of Charles II. had been several times put under ineffectual regulations, by amending act after act to no sort of good purpose. Of all these acts indeed he had as much as possible availed himself, by concentrating what he thought best among them into the present act. Certain he was inspectors must be very useful, and 20*l.* a year salary could be no objection to a county.

Mr. HOLMES followed him on the same ground, and said he thought inspectors extremely essential to the reform intended throughout all the gaols.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he wished that matters would not be hastily forced upon gentlemen, without allowing time for due consideration. He begged to be informed what salary was intended for the inspector-general.

Mr. GRIFFITH (who sat on the treasury bench) said that though many things had been forced upon the country from that bench, it would not be the case at present, for time enough should be allowed for consideration. Government had the appointment of the inspector-general, and the intended salary was 200*l.* for going through the whole kingdom twice a year.

After two amendments the chairman reported some progress, and the committee obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday next.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1786.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties upon malt.

A bill for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned upon coffee.

A bill for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties on carriages.

A bill for granting certain duties upon licenses to be taken out by the several persons therein mentioned.

A bill for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, several duties therein mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.

Which were received and read the first time.

The Honourable Mr. HUTCHINSON presented a bill for building a bridge over the northern channel of the river Lee, in the city of Cork, and suburbs thereof, and for other purposes relative to said city; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. HOLMES presented a bill for enabling the grand jury of the county of Tipperary to grant such sums as shall be necessary for building and repairing bridewells in proper places in said county; which was received and read the first time.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved to commit the bill for vesting Mrs. Bonnell's estate in certain trustees.

Mr. BROWNE (of the College) opposed the committing of the bill. He professed much respect for the right honourable gentleman [Colonel Conyngham] from whom it principally moved, both as an encourager of manufactures, and a patron of the fine arts; but declared he had much greater respect for the body of the clergy, to whom he professed himself a warm friend, and whom he conceived to be most materially interested in the opposition to this bill. He said the design of the bill was to vest a charitable bequest of Mrs. Jane Bonnell, to the amount of 6000*l.* (given for the benefit of clergymen's widows) in certain trustees therein named, viz. three Archbishops, (for Tuam was omitted) the Chief Judges, Lord Conyngham, Colonel Conyngham, Dr. Ellis, and the three personal representatives of Mrs. Sampson, wife of the surviving executor of Mrs. Jane Bonnell, which trustees were to dispose of the money to such and so many widows as to them should seem proper objects. His objections would best appear by stating a few facts. Mrs. Bonnell, the testatrix, in her life-time carried on a suit during twenty years for the recovery of a mortgage debt, secured on the estate of the ancestor of Lord Conyngham, in which suit she met with every opposition from the Conyngham family, and died before she could recover the money. She had made a will, and by this will bequeathed several legacies, particularly 200*l.* to the parish of St. John, in Dublin, and then all the residue of her fortune to the use of poor widows of clergymen, without confining the charity to any particular spot or diocese, and without appointing trustees to dispose of the money. After her death the mortgage suit was revived in the name of Ralph Sampson, who was either the only acting or the surviving executor of four. Ralph Sampson dying, his widow and executrix refused to lend her name in carrying on the suit, whereupon it became necessary to file an information in the name of the Attorney General, at the relation of the parish of St. John. This was done in 1766. The late Lord Conyngham gave every opposition in his power, by having recourse to every mode of defence which the law could furnish him with, and even for a long time insisting on his privilege. However, in 1778, the money was at length paid into the hands of the chief remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer. Mrs. Bonnell died in 1745, so that the suit had been protracted forty years since her death. And here it was worthy of remark, that the Court of Exchequer considered the conduct of Mrs. Sampson, in refusing her name, in such a light, that they would not suffer the money to be paid into her hands, and they were of opinion that a legacy bequeathed to Lord Conyngham by Mrs. Bonnell, on condition that he would pay the money he owed her without further suit, was forfeited.—When the money was reco-

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vered the next object was to appoint trustees of the charity, to supply the total silence of the testatrix in that respect. The late Bishop of Waterford, whose exemplary piety had induced him to prosecute this suit for many years, with infinite labour and industry, brought in a bill appointing certain bishops trustees; but this bill was stifled in the privy council, and it might well be guessed by whose interest. It was now again necessary to appoint trustees, and for his part he was of opinion, that the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the kingdom, were the proper trustees, and that the intention of the testatrix was, that every diocese in the kingdom should partake of her bounty. But, said he, what does this bill do? It appoints, among the trustees, the heir at law of Lord Conyngham, who for forty years opposed the recovery of this charity, and whom the Court of Exchequer deemed thereby to have forfeited even the legacy given by Mrs. Bonnell, as the only mark of her favour; and the representatives of Mrs. Sampson, who refused to lend her name to carry on the suit, and whom the Court of Exchequer would not trust with the money. It undoes the effects of the whole suit, and throws back the money into the hands of the Conyngham family, who for forty years endeavoured to defeat the charity, and who with their friends would always form a majority of trustees, as it was well known the chief judges had too much business to be able to attend half the numerous corporations in which they were, for form's sake, inserted— This might hereafter be confined to the estate of Lord Conyngham himself, instead of being extended according to the intention of the testatrix. Who were most likely to be proper judges of the fit objects of this charity? The archbishops, bishops and deans in the several dioceses, or the right honourable gentlemen? This was an excellent foundation for other benefactions, which might at length amount to a considerable sum, when added to the present. But who would contribute, if their bequests were to be under the directions of a private family, to which they were strangers? The sum indeed in each diocese would be small, yet added to their present charitable fund, would be of material service, and such a division, he would repeat again, would be exactly fulfilling the apparent intention of the testatrix, whereas the present bill was in fact making a new will for her.

The question being put, that the bill be now committed, it was carried in the affirmative, and Mr. Thomas Burgh took the chair.

Mr. ARTHUR WOLFE said he rose to observe to the honourable gentleman [Mr. Browne] that in the objections which he had stated to this bill, he seemed to have overlooked one circumstance—By the common law of the land, whenever a charitable corporation is founded, and endowed by an individual, if he does

not appoint a visitor, his heir at law is of right the legal visitor of that corporation. As to any opposition which the late Lord Conyngham might think proper to give to the recovery of Mrs. Bonnell's legacy, the gentlemen named in the present bill were not answerable for his actions or opinions; and one gentleman particularly alluded to, [Mr. Burton Conyngham] he would say, deserved the highest encomiums; for since he had succeeded to Lord Conyngham's estate, he had proved himself not only the friend of his country, in becoming the liberal patron of arts and sciences, and every useful undertaking, but what was still more honourable, he had proved himself a lover of justice.

Mr. BROWNE assured the committee that he did not mean the smallest insinuation derogatory to the high character of the right honourable gentleman alluded to, nor had he ever before heard of a visitor to charitable corporations, as mentioned by the learned gentleman.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL assured the honourable gentleman that the law was as had been stated. This he mentioned to save him the trouble of looking where he might find it.

The committee went through the bill, and then adjourned.

The House having received the report of the committee of the whole House on the post-office bill, the Speaker rose to put the question, that the bill be engrossed.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE objected to that clause of the bill which enacts, that members of parliament, in order to make their letters pass free, shall write the whole superscription thereof, with the date, in words at length, and also the name of the place at which such letter shall be put into the post-office.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said this was different from the post-office regulation of England, (a cry, no, no, no) however, it was not necessary to raise the revenue, as England had been obliged to do, nor was it justifiable in ministers to deprive members of parliament of almost the only privilege they enjoy. The rates of postage, he said, were greater than in England, and our commerce and riches bore no proportion to hers; but no regard was to be paid to our commerce, no regard to the interruption it must receive by having the communication by post so heavily burdened. He said he hoped parliament would have spirit enough to pay some regard to their own privileges; if not, he must entreat the English gentleman sent over here as minister, that he would not take them all away.

Mr. W. B. PONSONBY said it was not to take away, but to guard the privileges of members of parliament, that the clause had been inserted; to guard them from that abuse about which

gentlemen seemed so indifferent; and as to a disposition in government to embarrass the commerce of the country, by rendering the communication by post difficult, they had manifested the direct contrary; for since we were in possession of an Irish post-office, several cross-posts had been instituted, which before had no existence; and it was the firm resolution of the gentlemen at the head of the post-office department to extend the posts to every part of the kingdom where they could possibly prove a convenience.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said he thought the clause a most exceptionable one, and wished to have the bill printed.

Mr. HAYES said he could not see the propriety of printing a bill which had gone through a committee without opposition. He thought the proper time for printing was before a bill was committed, that every member might read and consider its clauses.

Mr. CONOLLY.—The present clause will, I find, be attended with additional trouble to the members, and injury to the people; and for what? To increase the taxes on the people, and that the poorer sort too. Last session you laid on new taxes which were computed to 140,000*l.* a year, but I hear they have been more productive; it was then proposed and promised, that government should live within the revenue of the nation; but what are we now doing? We are running a race with England. She is very deeply in debt, and is obliged to tax high. Are we to have no economy, are we to lavish the money of the kingdom at the will of an extravagant administration? Fresh pensions are coming over from England almost every day. Our pension list is shameful, for it is much longer than that of England, and we are running a race with her in taxation; but in pensions we beat her hollow.

Mr. TRENCH expressed his wish to alleviate every burden of the poor, and could his voice transfer those oppressions on their betters, he would freely give it. He said there were many frauds which it was necessary to guard against; that he considered the arrangement proposed, as a productive regulation of a former tax. That gentlemen wished to make administration regulate their expenditure to their income, yet every person wished to pick out some of the foundation of finance, as it suited their objects, as advertisements, insurances, and new post-duties. He stated, that if the shackles now offered had been laid on in a former period, many national grants that had been a national honour, could not have been effectuated. That a great, an ample, and an honourable mark of national gratitude, to a great, an honest, and an honourable individual—that an effort to protect the memory of an ever lamented and revered character,

from the clamour of creditors, and his posterity from embarrassment—that a provision for the former predecessor of the Speaker's chair—all these might have been ineffectual, if this strictness had been established. He said there were some situations in which he would ever with administration to have latitude. If the corroding hand of many centuries had undermined the establishments of the ancient hereditary dignities of the realm, he would tax the last shilling he was worth to support so venerable and respectable a fabric. If additional duty required additional emolument, he would cheerfully accede to it—the individual who gives up to the public his application, his abilities, his time, and the fruits of an early and liberal education, if he would add the ingredient common honesty, the state would be more benefited than the individual. But if there were pensioned individuals in the House, whose abilities were not applied to public services, who, not contented with receiving the benevolence of their sovereign in the vale of privacy, start forward as representatives of the people, they seemed objects of compassion in the opinion of the public, and their own feelings were ample punishment.

He then alluded to the sinecure places mentioned in a former debate by Mr. Forbes, and remarked that those establishments were not formed under the present administration—The possessors of them had been long in office; the combination of the first and last employments of a state; in the same person was, he said, singular—but the example was hurtful.

He then reverted to the general question, and on the ground of such regulations preventing new taxes, and yet affording the necessary supplies to government, he was for having the bill engrossed.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1786.

A petition of the sovereign, free burgesses, merchants, traders, dealers and inhabitants of the town of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the said town of New Ross being an ancient sea-port town, surrounded by a wall, in consideration of the zeal and cheerfulness of the inhabitants thereof in preserving, sheltering and protecting the English from the depredations of the native Irish, several charters were granted by many of the kings of England to the said town of New Ross, whereby great and extensive privileges and immunities were given, equal to the city of Waterford, or any other of the corporate towns of this kingdom, and particularly such as respected trade, no town being more happily situ-

ated for carrying on the same; that the said town of New Ross is situate within one mile of the conflux of the rivers Barrow and Nore, where, uniting, they pass by the said town, and are discharged into the sea about ten miles from the said town, where vessels of five hundred tons burden can come up to her quays from the sea in one tide, the river from the said town thereto being deep, secure and safe, and therein much superior to that of the city of Waterford; that by means of the rivers Barrow and Nore a secure and deep carriage is had for carrying the goods and commodities of all nations from the said town of New Ross to the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, King and Queen's Counties, and also the commodities of the said counties to the said town of New Ross for exportation; that encouraged by the late extension of our trade, and the promising advantages that may arise to the said town from the works carrying on by the navigation board, some considerable merchants have lately settled there, and have expended large sums of money in building of stores, and in purchasing vessels of large burden; and they, and many of the inhabitants of said town have lately entered into companies, and carry on a very extensive trade, insomuch that the duties amounted in the last year (1785) to the sum of 4758l. 15s. 2½d. which was more than the duties amounted to for the nine years immediately preceding the said year (1785); that by an act of parliament passed in the twenty-fifth year of his present Majesty, entitled "An act for regulating and extending the tobacco trade," the said town of New Ross is precluded the benefit of importing tobacco, to the great detriment and disadvantage of the importers, merchants and dealers of the said town; that a vessel belonging to Messrs. George and Thomas Kough, of said town, merchants, having lately arrived from America with tobacco in the said river, the said Messrs. Kough applied to the commissioners of the revenue for leave to enter and land the same at the said port of Ross, but the board refused the same, and the said vessel and tobacco were sent by the said Messrs. Kough to France, whereby a sum of 2000l. was lost to his Majesty's revenue; that large orders were sent by the merchants of said town to America for tobacco, but have lately been countermanded, on account of the prohibition in the said act mentioned, to the great diminution of his Majesty's revenue; that from the natural advantageous situation of the said town of New Ross, which providence has been pleased to bestow in extensive navigable rivers, and the richness of the counties adjoining thereto for so great an extent, whereby the most extensive trade can be carried on to and from all parts of the globe, with such facility and safety; and therefore praying that the rising trade of the said town of Ross will meet with encouragement and protection from this House, rather than any diminution thereof, and be put upon the same footing of the other

sea-port towns of this kingdom, and that the clause in the said act, by which the said town is prohibited from importing tobacco, may be done away, by such means and in such manner as this House shall think fit.

On the Speaker's rising to put the question, that the post-office bill do now pass,

Mr. WOLFE contended that the clause obliging members to superscribe their letters with the date in words at length, and also the name of the post-town where put in, was an infringement of their privilege. He urged that it might be difficult to satisfy the post-office that they were actually in the post-town superscribed at the time their letters would be put into the office, and though from the extreme attention and obliging disposition of the gentlemen who now conduct the post-office there was every reason to speak highly of them, yet he thought it an undignified situation for members of parliament to be at the discretion of public officers; and therefore he desired to know what kind of evidence would be deemed sufficient that members had complied with the law in the article of franking. He also said that the clause was an infringement on the privileges of the peers, who, if they had any spirit, would feel the indignity, and reject the bill with scorn.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said it was to preserve the privileges of members of parliament sacred to their own use that the clause was inserted. As to the post-office, he would add nothing to what had been said of its management, gentlemen having had the candour and liberality to do that justice; but he informed the honourable gentleman who desired to know what evidence would be sufficient, that a member's certificate always had and would be deemed sufficient. As to what an honourable gentleman had said concerning the clause being an infringement on the privileges of peers, he was surprised to find the honourable gentleman forget that this was a money bill; and though he had infinite respect for their lordships, yet it could not so far outweigh his respect for the people, whom the House of Commons represented, as to admit for a moment that their lordships had a right to interfere with a money bill.

Lord LUTTRELL strongly insisted that the payment of postage could not be considered as a tax—it was merely payment for a service performed, and the smallest payment for so much service that could possibly be imagined. A letter from the remotest part of the kingdom, perhaps near two hundred miles, cost but four pence, yet no gentleman would send one by a porter the length of a street without paying him sixpence.

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As to the privilege of parliament, it was, he said, a special exemption from a general rule made in favour of those whose letters were supposed to be on public affairs—To preserve this privilege inviolate was the intention of the clause, and therefore he concurred in it.

Mr. CONOLLY said it should never weigh with him as an argument, that the English House of Commons had adopted this or that mode of acting—That House had followed one minister through the American war, which had dismembered the empire of the greatest part of its western possessions, and loaded old England with an intolerable debt. They had followed another minister through an India bill, which offered fair to cut off our possessions in the east; and a third through a scheme of commercial regulation, which the virtue of Irishmen withstood. He would not, therefore, allow any weight to the example of the English House of Commons. They had been so long in the habit of following what was wrong, that he would not follow them.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS, in reply to Mr. Conolly, said he agreed with the right honourable gentleman so far, that he would not follow a practice merely because it was the practice of England, but whenever England set the example of good sense and propriety, as in the present case, he would be proud to follow her. The precaution now insisted on was a necessary guard against the abuse of privilege, and therefore it had his approbation.

Mr. BROOKE (of Donegal) said he approved of the clause as a necessary security against the abuse of privilege.

Mr. CHATTERTON said he thought the abuse of the privilege most shameful. He had heard that one member's franks had amounted to between two and three thousand pounds a year; which, supposing the member never to do any thing but write franks, could not be genuine. His own hand had been counterfeited to a monstrous degree on his leaving a city in which he had some connections [Cork.] He had left among his friends, franks, perhaps to the number of thirty, but what was his surprise, three weeks after, to receive from the secretary of the post-office a letter couched in terms of infinite propriety and respect, but informing him that the whole mail of that day (the day of the secretary's writing) from the city alluded to, in some hundreds of letters, contained nothing but his franks, except about fourteen. This, he hoped, would convince gentlemen of the necessity of restriction; it had convinced him. He now could not blame the clerks in the post-office if by accident they now and then charged a genuine frank.

Mr. WOLFE moved to expunge so much of the clause as obliged to superscribe the post-town.

Upon a division there appeared,

For expunging it, — 41 — Against it, — 100

The Speaker again rose to put the question, that the bill do pass.

Mr. CORRY desired leave to make some observations on a practice which existed in the post-office, respecting letters directed from beyond seas to members of parliament in this country. He said that he did not intend what he had to urge as a complaint against the gentlemen of the post-office; they deserved the highest praise. That office he would recommend as a pattern and model to the other public offices of the kingdom. The gentlemen had probably found the practice existing when they entered into it, and therefore could not alter it without the authority of parliament. The practice complained of was, that when a letter (suppose from London to Cork) arrived here, the office immediately scratched out the six pence English charge, and charged it with ten pence; that is to say, they charged the member with four-pence for conveying his letter through this land, whereas, in his opinion, the act of parliament (which he read) made all letters of members of the Irish parliament pass free through this realm.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL expounded the act differently, and supported his opinion with the constant practice both in England and Ireland, which he affirmed to be the same. If the honourable gentleman, said he, would recur to the origin of privilege, he would see that the same reasons did not apply for making foreign and domestic letters equally free. It was necessary that members of parliament in the Commons House should maintain a constant intercourse and communication with their constituents, so as to learn every circumstance relative to the country, which might arise during their attendance in parliament, and it would be hard to oblige the representative to pay for maintaining this domestic correspondence, for the public benefit, out of his private pocket. But no such reason existed for making his foreign correspondence free. It was not from abroad that he was to learn the sentiments of his constituents, or the wants or interests of his own country; and therefore, as to foreign correspondence, he was on a level with the rest of his fellow-subjects.

Mr. ORDE said he apprehended there could be no doubt of the construction of the act, and as a proof, in addition to what had been urged, he observed, that no member of parliament in Ireland had ever thought himself privileged, if writing from any place in the country to a person beyond sea, to frank his letter so far

on its way as Dublin. In England, said he, the act is understood precisely in the same way—the privilege exempts only such letters as pass to and from members of parliament within the realm, but it is not extended to their foreign correspondence.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said he had himself franked letters to St. James's.

Mr. ORDE said he could not doubt what the honourable gentleman asserted as to his franking letters to London, but he entertained some doubts that they might not have passed free of postage.

Mr. CORY moved an amendment to the bill, "to exempt persons while entitled to parliamentary privilege from all expence of postage arising within the kingdom."

It passed in the negative without a division.

The question was then put on the post-office bill, and it passed.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1786.

A petition of the farmers of the county of Kildare, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that by a law passed in the year 1782 the export bounty upon corn was withdrawn from the port of Dublin, which it had until then shared with the rest of the kingdom; that the petitioners have been thereby materially injured, corn being a principal produce of their lands, and Dublin their only market for that commodity; that the inland bounties at present existing upon all corn brought to that city, the natural advantages of its situation, and the fear of diminishing the supply of its inhabitants by export, are the principal arguments upon which, as the petitioners are informed, that measure is defended, but which the petitioners humbly conceive are not founded in truth, and which they feel are not founded in justice; that the petitioners conceive all bounty upon corn, whether inland or export, is granted upon the principle of promoting agriculture, and rendering this kingdom, as far as may be, a tillage country, by providing a certain, steady, and virtually, a contiguous market; and the petitioners do not perceive why that principle, which in every other port in the kingdom has been found good, should in that of Dublin be deserted, and while the legislature takes care, at a prodigious expence, to provide a market for the kingdom, it should adopt a measure, the very tendency of which is to diminish the demand, and by not taking off the redundancy, to render that market fluctuating which it has cost the nation so much to render steady; that if Dublin be particularly well circumstanced for the export of corn, of course the export bounty from thence

would advance the object of the law, but while it is deprived of that, fifty miles of the coast contiguous to the best tillage lands of the kingdom are excluded from export bounty, and that by a law the avowed principle of which is to encourage the growth of corn, and the excluding these counties from export bounty virtually operates towards turning them to pasturage, while the avowed intention is to turn them to tillage; that the petitioners feel themselves peculiarly aggrieved by this measure, previous to the inland bounties their situation gave them the exclusive advantages of the market of the capital, the legislature thought it for the general good to bring all the rest of Ireland to that market, the petitioners yielded their particular interest to that of the community without complaint, and cheerfully paid their proportion (and that no inconsiderable one) of the expence, though it was to purchase rivals against themselves in what might be, until then, considered as their own market, but now those very bounties furnish arguments for depriving them of an advantage held out to every other part of Ireland contiguous to the coast, and thus what they have already suffered is made an argument for further injuries, and with uncommon severity they are compelled to pay for those very injuries, and to contribute to bounties which they are forbidden to share; that the petitioners conceive that the manifest operation of an export bounty is to encrease not to diminish the supply of the market, and therefore such a measure must be beneficial to the market of Dublin, and if it can be injurious there it must be so in every other part of the kingdom; that the petitioners do not by any means propose that those persons who receive the inland bounty should be entitled to the export, nor *vice versa*; but they humbly submit to the House that a commutation of the inland for the export bounty, in the option of the owner of the corn, under proper regulations and restrictions, would prevent all the injuries they now complain of, and would manifestly tend to promote the encrease of agriculture and industry throughout the kingdom; and therefore praying relief.

A petition of William Wadsworth, of Celbridge, Irish wood hat manufacturer, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that petitioner in the year 1779 set up a manufacture of Irish wood hats in the town of Celbridge, and county of Dublin, and was the first person who ever attempted such a manufacture in Ireland, which, when in its infancy, was, on account of its merit, patronized by persons of the first distinction in this kingdom; that petitioner, on account of his narrow circumstances, was not able to manufacture hats to any considerable amount for the first year or two after his commencement in said business, but his said manufacture gaining credit daily, and larger demands having been made on him for his goods, he was enabled to extend the same,

so that in the course of the last year he made and sold Irish wood hats to the amount of above 900l. that petitioner has had application made to him from several Irish merchants, and likewise from foreign ones, to supply them with hats to a very considerable amount; and petitioner verily believes that if he had been enabled to extend his manufacture so as to have had a sufficient supply, he could readily have disposed of upwards of 3000l. worth of hats more than he sold within the year; that petitioner understands the importation of foreign chip hats has greatly decreased, owing to the superior excellence of his hats, which are at present in universal estimation, by which means considerable sums of money are saved to this kingdom; that petitioner has greatly improved already in said manufacture, and if enabled by this honourable House to extend the same, by purchasing more materials and employing more hands, petitioner has no doubt, by the excellence of his work, and by being able to supply the large demands on him for the same, the importation of foreign chip hats would almost totally cease; that petitioner was precluded from receiving any part of the bounty granted by this honourable House in the two last sessions of parliament, as there was no mention of the manufacture of chip or Irish wood hats in the act enabling the trustees to distribute the bounties; and therefore praying to include the said manufacture in the act for the distribution of the bounties granted this session, so that petitioner may receive such encouragement as to this House shall seem meet.

A petition of the corporation of tanners of the town and county of the town of Drogheda, on behalf of themselves and all others the tanners and manufacturers of leather in Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this kingdom has of late years very greatly declined, and if not encouraged and protected by the House will be soon totally lost to this kingdom, whereby not only the petitioners and those concerned in that trade, will be reduced to the necessity of quitting the same, but also many other useful and necessary branches of trade in which leather is worked up will be much injured, and the price of the many articles manufactured with leather be greatly increased; that the petitioners with concern see that the exportation of our raw materials to all foreign countries, almost duty free, has greatly contributed to prevent the tanning and manufacture of leather in this kingdom, and has prevented the exportation of tanned leather from this country, to foreign markets, insomuch that the exportation thereof has decreased three parts out of four during the last ten years, compared with the ten years next preceding; that the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that the scarcity and dearth of oak bark in this kingdom is another cause of the great decline of

their manufacture, the price whereof has very greatly encreased these some years past, and prevented the petitioners from being able to procure a sufficient quantity thereof for the tanning of their raw materials, on such terms as to enable the petitioners and those of the tanning trade to manufacture their goods either for consumption at home, or to send them to foreign markets, on equal terms with other countries; that the petitioners, from the scarcity and dearness of oak bark in the year 1785, were in great danger of being reduced to extreme difficulties and distress, and that had it not been for the coldness of the season the raw materials then on the petitioners hands would have perished, the petitioners not being able to procure on any terms oak bark for saving the same; that the petitioners apprehend that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this country may, under proper encouragement, become a branch of business of great consequence to Ireland in general, as well as to the petitioners, who have embarked their entire substance therein, and spent their lives in the pursuit and improvement thereof; that the petitioners apprehend and believe that if an additional duty be laid upon the exportation of raw materials from this into foreign countries, and a bounty granted on the importation of oak bark into this kingdom from America, the East Country, Germany, or other parts of the continent of Europe from whence that article may be procured annually in any quantity, for the supply of Irish tannage, together with a bounty on the exportation of manufactured leather, will assist our export of tanned leather, enable us to manufacture our raw materials, prevent foreigners having a supply of that sort of leather fit for their use, make Ireland the mart for said goods, and necessitate foreigners to apply to us for our materials when manufactured, as the green commodity they bring from hence is by far superior to any they can supply themselves with from other markets; that the petitioners apprehend and believe they would be able to regain from foreign nations this branch of trade, if the House shall be pleased to take their case into consideration; and therefore praying the House to allow them to be heard by counsel in support of the allegations of their petition, and to grant them relief.

Mr. FORBES moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent persons holding places or pensions under the crown from sitting or voting in the House of Commons.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER declared, that though he did not mean at this time to deliver his sentiments on the bill, yet as the House was thin, and the order of the day fraught with much necessary business of a nature that could not well be deferred, he wished the honourable gentleman had not made his motion, as he found himself necessitated at present to make one to supersede it, by calling for the order of the day.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE declared his approbation of the principle of any bill which tended to restrain the undue influence of the crown in that House, if any such existed; but for the reasons given by his right honourable friend, he thought it better if the motion for bringing in the bill was postponed.

Mr. FORBES said he by no means would press his motion this day, since gentlemen were of opinion it would retard the business of the nation, by bringing on a debate; and therefore he would defer it till Wednesday.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for encouraging the tobacco trade, by allowing importers to bond the duty, &c. &c. Mr. Mason in the chair.

This bill prohibits the importation of tobacco into any part of Ireland except the following, viz. Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda. In those ports it may be warehoused, and bonds given or money paid for the duty, which bonds or money are taken up on re-exportation.

Mr. TOTTENHAM moved that the port of New Ross should be added to the privileged ports.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD desired that the petition from the merchants and inhabitants of that town might be read; which being done, he said the happy situation of that town for trade, its excellent port and rising commerce, were such as peculiarly demanded the attention of parliament; and unless some very great reasons to the contrary, which had not come to his knowledge, existed, he could not doubt but the House would grant the petitioners prayer, to be put on the same footing in the tobacco trade with Dublin and the ten other privileged ports. One great object of the free trade granted to all his Majesty's subjects of Ireland was the improvement of commerce in every port capable of such improvement, and if the House should refrain a place so well situated as New Ross, they did in so much counteract the intention of the free trade.—He bestowed the highest praise on the inhabitants of that town, whose industry, integrity, and peaceable deportment might be held up as a pattern for imitation. Such people ought to be encouraged; whereas by excluding them from the benefit they now sought, a tacit imputation was implied that they were not to be trusted with such advantages. This indeed might be just if any charge of smuggling had been brought against them, but he was bold to say that was not the case; and for the truth of his assertion appealed to the right honourable gentleman at the head of the revenue. He stated the duties paid at New Ross for some years antecedent to the restriction, to shew by their rising that the trade of that town was increasing. He also observed

that the restriction had been of infinite prejudice not only to the fair trader, but also to his Majesty's revenue. In the course of last year a ship had arrived at New Ross with tobacco; the merchants applied for a license to land it, but were refused; upon which the vessel sailed for France, where it was sold, though had it been admitted to an entry, the duty would have amounted to 2000*l*. He urged the necessity of parliament paying peculiar attention to a town whose inhabitants had ever paid the most dutiful attention to the laws, and who were as remarkable for integrity as industry; and concluded with paying a compliment to Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of the town of New Ross, whose influence and example had so much contributed to the excellent conduct of the inhabitants.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that he lamented that a bill, whose title was for extending the tobacco trade, should in fact confine it to eleven ports, and exclude the port of New Ross which was so well entitled to that privilege, as it could admit vessels of 500 tons burden, and had fifty ships belonging to it. That the reason alleged (in the limiting clause) for excluding all ports except the eleven favoured ones, viz. their not having a sufficient number of revenue officers, certainly militated more strongly against Dundalk, which had fewer than Ross. That the exports of Ross in the last year that was returned to parliament, were more than double in value to those of Dundalk. He could not admit the re-exportation of the tobacco to Holland as a proof of the quantity of the importation, as the carrying trade alone was a very important object; and he asserted that it would be very advantageous to Ireland if all the tobacco imported by Holland were to be landed at the Irish ports in its way.

Mr. BERESFORD said he always found pain in rising to oppose the wishes of gentlemen in that House, particularly any wish of his honourable friend, [Mr. Tottenham] the proprietor of New Ross; but he hoped his opposition would be considered as flowing from him in his official capacity, for nothing but a conviction that he was acting for the public welfare could enable him to refuse any request of his honourable friend. The tobacco act, he observed, was a new law in this country; it began with our free trade, and was copied from a law of England at the time that we agreed to pay the same duties which England pays on colony produce. Now, said he, tobacco being an article on which a very high duty is laid, it had been thought proper, both in England and Ireland, to guard as much as possible against the smuggling of it, for which reason the number of ports where it may be entered in Great Britain has been limited to seven, and in Ireland to eleven; and, comparing the latter with the former country, it cannot be thought that too small a number has been allowed to her. Cer-

tainly the port of New Ross labours under no peculiar hardship; it is not surely so great a town as Chester, Exeter, and many others in England that do not enjoy the privilege for which it contends; besides it is within a very short space of the great port of Waterford, by which it can be easily supplied.

The honourable gentleman, continued he, has mentioned the quantities of tobacco imported into New Ross as a proof that it is of consequence to the revenue. I shall state the matter to the committee:—On the 25th of April, 1785, were imported into New Ross forty-one hogsheds of tobacco, weighing 40,952 pounds. The very next day thirty-nine hogsheds were re-exported to Rotterdam. The same day four hogsheds were imported, three of which were re-exported to Rotterdam. Soon after thirty hogsheds more were imported, which were exported to Newfoundland, though directly in the teeth of the laws of that colony; for those laws do not allow us to export to that colony but under the same restrictions and regulations which Great Britain has imposed on herself. Now all this tobacco drew back the duty, and whether it went to Rotterdam or Newfoundland, or was smuggled back again, it is impossible for me to tell; but certain it is that the duty of three hogsheds only remained to the revenue of the nation. We should, indeed, have been able to give a better account of this tobacco if we had known of it at the time of the transaction, for we generally take care to see any that is re-exported safe off the coast. However, I cannot help congratulating the town of New Ross on having become the carrier for Rotterdam, which was wont to become the carrier of Europe.

The honourable gentleman has said that we refused to grant a license to a ship to land tobacco, the duty on which would have amounted to 2000*l.* and that it was afterwards sent to France. It was pity they forgot their correspondents at Rotterdam. But there was one good reason why the license was refused, which was, that the commissioners were not warranted by law to grant it; however there was no occasion to have carried the tobacco to France, as Waterford was within two hours sail if they had chosen to land it there.

Mr. ORDE said he had as accurately as he was able informed himself on the subject. The regulation was only changed from one bill into another. He agreed with Sir Frederick Flood, that if fraud was to be prevented by the adoption, Ross had a right to be mentioned in the bill. The revenue of this country, said he, differs much at present from what it formerly was. A great public ground certainly merited preference, but Ross was not such; opening every port town was not serving commerce. We ought to copy England, and on looking round the kingdom, that port which would trade the most extensively ought to be preferred; it was by that rule that Waterford was preferred to Ross last year, and should now be followed.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he thought it his duty to do the utmost for the revenue, and he would so. He never knew the honourable gentleman attached to local preferences. Fair trade was always injured by such partiality; and if the exigencies of the state required high duties on commodities, they must be laid high, and the Dublin importers ought to be encouraged as far as possible.

Mr. CORRY said it appeared to him that the revenue could be best promoted by lowering the duties; and if such a wide measure was adopted it would put a most effectual stop to smuggling. He deplored that it was the misfortune of Ireland to copy England too scrupulously in all things respecting the raising of the revenues, but in no other respects; but he trusted that we would act from ourselves, and not hold up the sister kingdom as a standard to follow on all occasions.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD rose to explain; he said he found it incumbent on him. None in the House did he more esteem than the right honourable commissioner; but his amiable partiality (amiable he would call it) for Waterford was extra-official.

Several other ports were proposed by different gentlemen to be included in the advantages of importing tobacco, but were negatived without a division.

At length the question was put on the original motion for New Ross, when there appeared

Ayes - - 39 ——— Noes - - 73

Mr. KEARNEY rose to move for Kinsale and Bandon; the bark and tobacco trade proved the importance of these ports, and there was a less probability of smuggling there than in many other places mentioned. The resolutions of the Kinsale merchants, against smuggling, appeared in the public papers some time ago. Gentlemen might talk away. He wished for a reason, but every thing was carried without reason.

The question being put whether Kinsale should be inserted, there appeared

Ayes - - 21 ——— Noes - - 70

Mr. MONTGOMERY (of Donegal) said it was a maxim, indeed an axiom in commerce, that every creek and harbour in a nation ought to be made as free and open to trade as possible; and there was but one reason why every place in the kingdom, at which a vessel might load or discharge, was not made a port—that was the expence.—He, upon this principle, and knowing how much the advantage would exceed the expence, intended to bring in a bill for opening the port of Ballyraine. He had observed, he said, that

in the course of the present session the example of England had frequently been quoted, and that gentlemen allowed it weight just so much as suited their present purposes. Sometimes England was to be followed in all things, sometimes in nothing; but he thought it unjust to set up England as an example to Ireland at all. A country that has the falling sickness ought not to be compared to a land rising in commerce and in consequence. However, though England had cuffed and buffeted this nation so much, and treated her with so much indignity, yet there was one part of her conduct in which we ought to imitate her, that was, she suffered no revenue commissioners, or revenue officer, to sit in her parliament; in Ireland they not only sat, but acted as ministers, and ruled the land in the manner revenue officers generally do those they have in their power; however he gave notice that he would speedily move for a bill to disenable them from sitting or voting in parliament.

MR. O'DE.—I allow that arguments drawn from the practice of another country are of no force unless supported by reason and experience; but I cannot sit still and hear the honourable gentleman speak of England as of a falling country. God forbid that any man who hears me could be weak or foolish enough to imagine that this country could be rising while England was falling. They must rise or fall together; and I can congratulate both that England is now rising to greater strength than ever she enjoyed before. I say I congratulate both, because as Ireland would inevitably sink with Britain, she has now the happy prospect of improving and flourishing with her.

The bill being gone through in the committee, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for granting the sum of 9000*l.* to the incorporated society for supporting the protestant charter schools of this kingdom.

A bill for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Dublin Society, for the purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America.

A bill for granting to his Majesty the duty therein mentioned, to be paid to the trustees of the Royal Exchange.

A bill for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the governors of the Foundling Hospital and Work-house, for the purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for granting the sum of 1000*l.* to the governors of the Hibernian School, for the support of that charity.

A bill for granting the sum of 1000*l.* to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting the said charity.

A bill for granting the sum of 3000*l.* to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, for the purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for granting the sum of 5000l. to the board of first fruits, for the purposes therein mentioned.

A bill for granting the sum of 8600l. to the corporation for the relief of the poor in the city of Dublin.

A bill for granting the sum of 4000l. to the trustees of the Linen Manufacture, for the purposes therein mentioned.

Which were received and read the first time.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1786.

A petition of the honourable Arthur Gore, commonly called Lord Sudley, Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart. Alexander Stewart, of Ards, and Samuel Hayes, of Drumboe Castle, in the county of Donegal, Esqrs. was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners observe, by the votes of the House, that the sum of 10,000l. is granted to certain trustees therein named, to be by them, or any four of them, paid over for the encouragement of fisheries on the coast of Donegal, in such manner as shall be directed by parliament, so soon as a similar sum shall be raised by private subscription to be expended in like manner, agreeable to a petition in this session heretofore preferred to the House; that the petitioners beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House that they have raised a sum of 10,000l. in the proportions following; that is to say, Lord Sudley 1500l. Sir Annesley Stewart 2750l. Alexander Stewart, Esq; 3000l. and Samuel Hayes, Esq; 2750l. to be applied to the encouragement of the fisheries aforesaid, pursuant to the intentions of the House, expressed in the said vote; and therefore praying that the said sum of 10,000l. so voted as aforesaid, may be paid over to the said trustees, to be apportioned among the petitioners, and to be by them respectively laid out and expended, together with their respective subscriptions of the said other sum of 10,000l. subject to such or the like directions, and with the like restrictions and regulations as were prescribed by parliament in the last session on a similar grant for the same purposes, or subject to such other regulations and restrictions as the House shall direct.

A petition of the exporting merchants of the city of Waterford, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that there is a very material disproportion between the duty now paid on pork in casks and bacon; a barrel of pork containing 200lbs. is subject to a duty of 1s. 6d. per barrel, while a side of bacon, which often weighs as much, and seldom under 160lbs. only pays 1½d. per side, and is exported in its green unmanufactured state; that in consequence of the very great disproportion in the duty between pork shipped in casks and

pork shipped under the denomination of bacon, a very great injury has arose not only to the revenue of the kingdom, but also to the trade from hence to the West Indies, and in particular to Newfoundland, for which latter place the largest and fattest pigs are required, nearly all of which are now monopolized by two or three individual houses in the bacon export, to the prejudice of trade at large, and in particular to the coopers, and many other useful members who are employed thereby; and therefore praying the House to equalize the present duty in such manner as will effectually put the export of both on an equal footing.

The order of the 1st of February, for bringing in a bill to erect a ballast-office in the city of Dublin, and to enable certain persons to cleanse and improve the harbour, &c. &c. was discharged; and leave given to bring in a bill for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its port and harbour more commodious.

Mr. GARDINER moved for leave to bring in a bill to erect turnpikes on the different roads leading to Dublin. He said the landholders in the county Dublin were now subject to a tax of one shilling and sixpence per acre, in order to keep the roads in repair, nevertheless some of them were impassable, and that therefore the necessity of turnpikes, in aid to county presentments, was obvious.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD.—Before I determine whether I shall consent even to have this bill come under debate, I request the right honourable gentleman will have the goodness to inform me whether this bill be the same in principle with those which the House has so frequently rejected?

Mr. GARDINER.—It is the same in substance and in principle with that which was offered to the House last session, with the difference only that none of the money produced by the turnpikes is to be applied to the building of Island-bridge, and that the grand juries may still present for roads though turnpikes shall be erected.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD.—Then this bill is similar in principle and design to those bills which have so often been rejected by this House almost unanimously, and the right honourable gentleman, notwithstanding the sense of the House so frequently declared upon this subject, thinks now, by perseverance, to cram it down our throats at last; but I trust the wisdom of this House will never suffer itself to be overcome by perseverance, which, when improperly continued, takes another name.—Sir, I could not have believed any man who should have told me that the right honourable member would again attempt to force this bill upon us, and did I not actually now see it in his hand I should have supposed it had met the fate it well merited—that it had been burned by the common hangman, and that its ashes never more would rise to annoy us.

It is pretended, Sir, that this bill is to improve the roads of the county of Dublin, by erecting turnpikes upon them; and it is said that some of those roads are almost impassable. I am ready to admit, Sir, that the roads on which turnpikes are erected are almost impassable, and therefore I think this bill should be called a bill for destroying the roads of the county of Dublin; and as it will be a tax upon provisions, it should be further called a bill for impeding agriculture, and famishing the citizens of Dublin. A bill for taxing the land—a bill for taxing health and every comfort of life—a bill to restrain personal liberty; for if it were possible that parliament should suffer it to pass, a citizen who attends six days to his business will be taxed for riding out on Sunday, to bathe perhaps in the sea, or to refresh himself with a mouthful of pure air.

Sir, in opposing the introduction of this bill I am not pleading the cause of the county of Wexford only, which sends great quantities of provisions to this city, but of every county, east, west, north and south, that have any communication with the metropolis; but, above all, I am pleading for the citizens of Dublin; for should this intercourse with the country be obstructed, they will either not be supplied with provisions at all, or at so dear a rate that few will be able to purchase them.

It was but this very session that the right honourable gentleman himself introduced a very proper bill, enabling the grand jury to repair and keep in repair the roads of the county of Dublin; yet before the effect of that bill is tried he brings in another to erect turnpikes, and destroy the roads; for every man knows that the effect of the turnpikes is to destroy the roads; and why? because the turnpike bills take the management of the roads from the grand juries, the constitutional parliaments, as I may call them, of the counties, and place it in the hands of jobbers; who, to hide their own speculation, and keep the country gentlemen in good humour, apply part of the revenue, arising from a tax on poor farmers and carmen, to horse-racing.—Oh! there was a mighty pretty sport such a day!—good running—the sod in nice order—Pray where was the money collected for that fifty pound plate? Hush! hush!—it was out of the turnpike fund.

Sir, if the right honourable gentleman would act a part worthy himself he would introduce a bill to abolish turnpikes altogether, as a nuisance in the kingdom. The county of Tipperary has set him the example. In that country, as indeed throughout the kingdom, they are found so destructive that a general repeal of the laws relative to them would do honour to any gentleman who should undertake it.

Gentlemen who are fond of citing the example of England upon all occasions say, that the roads of that kingdom are almost all made by turnpikes.—There is a very good reason for it,

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which, perhaps, these gentlemen do not know—the English grand juries are not empowered to raise money for roads—But does any man deny that the turnpikes are an intolerable burden in that country; or will any man say that grand juries, the constitutional guardians of the counties, are not more to be depended on for a faithful, honest discharge of their duty, than any set of turnpike trustees, even though they were to be appointed by the right honourable gentleman?

At present, Sir, I shall trespass no longer on your time than just to observe that, should the bill pass, it may be said hereafter let any man take up a measure, however unacceptable to the Irish House of Commons, let him but persevere, no matter how often it is rejected, he may at last seize them into a compliance.

Lord LUTTRELL.—Certainly, Sir, the right honourable gentleman has great merit in his perseverance, though I am sorry to see so much solicitude bestowed upon our old acquaintance, the turnpike bill; which, after this day, I shall oppose by all possible means, and in every possible stage: However, as it is unusual to oppose the introduction of a bill, out of respect to my right honourable friend I will not vote against the introduction of his.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

The House resolved into a committee on the bill for consolidating into one law the several acts relative to the lighting, cleansing, and paving the city of Dublin.

In the committee it was agreed that the commissioners of paving, &c. should be enabled to sit six days in the week at twenty shillings per day to each commissioner.

Mr. TOLER contended that the bill deprived the corporation of the city of Dublin of all right to receive tolls. The express conditions on which they could receive tolls by their charter were for pontage, murage, paving and cleansing the identical streets on which the tolls were taken. This act deprived them of this right, and therefore he appealed to all his brethren learned in the law to know how it would be possible for the city to justify in trespass, or to enter an avowry in replevin, under the present act.

Another point which he declared had shocked and astonished him, was the intolerable and most unconstitutional power which the bill vests in the commissioners, to call persons before them, and punish them with a fine of five pounds. For what?—Why for an insult to any of their high mighty and puissant selves. He hoped this was too ridiculous to be submitted to in any country pretending to enjoy liberty, and where the courts of law were open to redress injuries. This he was sure would be rejected. As to the other parts of the bill, perhaps great labour and assiduity might correct them; but to leave the subject at the caprice of paving commissioners was too bad to be endured.

Mr. MASON said he rose to inform the honourable and learned gentleman that he had overlooked one very material circumstance, which was, that though the city did not pave or cleanse all that had formerly been under their care, yet they paid 2000l. a year for having it done by the paving commissioners; and he knew the maxim of law, *Quod facit per alios, facit per se*. When the bill which is now the law was introduced, the late Recorder, Mr. Huffle, was a member of the House, (a more able or more learned lawyer never sat in it) yet he had not perceived any clause injurious to the city's right of tolls, because in truth no such clause existed.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he rose to remove any unfavourable impression which might be made by what the learned gentleman had said relative to the commissioners power of fining. It is already, said he, the law of the land, not with this board only, but with the Work-house board, who possess it to a much greater extent. But suppose the bill to be full of error, what can be more fair, more candid, than to submit it to the consideration of gentlemen, and to entreat their attention to correct and make it unexceptionable.—As to the corporation of the city, he said they did not complain.—He had had a conference with the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen, and though they thought 2000l. a year an high charge, they declared themselves satisfied with every thing else.

Alderman WARREN.—I consider this charge of 2000l. as a bargain between the city of Dublin and the commissioners for paving. The city always hired some persons to pave and cleanse the streets on which they take their toll; they now hire the paving commissioners to do that service, and I believe in point of law it must be a matter of indifference whom they employ to do their work. Did I think it in the smallest degree injurious to the city, no man would be more forward to oppose it than I.

After some progress the committee being counted, and forty members not being present, the Speaker resumed the chair.—Forty members then appearing, it was ordered that the House will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee on the bill for consolidating the paving, lighting and cleansing laws.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1786.

A petition of the freeholders and inhabitants of the King's County, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that Philipstown, the present shire town, is situated nearly at one extremity of the said county, and extremely defective in point of accommodations for the numbers who have occasion to resort to

the general assizes holden there, whereby many of the petitioners are greatly aggrieved, and the distribution of public justice much impeded; that the town of Tullamore is both more central in its situation, and provided with far better and more ample accommodations, and is altogether best adapted of any other for becoming the shire town of said county; that the petitioners, solicitous to promote this desirable purpose, and to remedy, as far as in them lies, the grievances above stated, and as the present gaol and court-house at Philipstown are in a ruinous state, and must at all events be rebuilt, are willing, by their own private contribution, to erect a commodious court-house within the said town of Tullamore, for holding therein his Majesty's court of assize and general gaol delivery for the said county; that notwithstanding some repairs have been lately made to the gaol, it was so insufficient for the safe custody of prisoners, that very recently several persons confined therein on charges of felony and other crimes have broken the gaol, and are now at large, to the great hazard and uneasiness of the public; and therefore praying leave may be given to bring in a bill, whereby it may be enacted that Tullamore, instead of Philipstown, may be reputed, used and taken for the shire town of the King's county.

Read a third time the bill for suspending till June, 1787, the operation of the act of the last session, for the more effectually registering freeholds.

Mr. HAYES entered into an investigation of the registry act, and pointed out a number of absurdities and incongruities contained therein. After having put the provisions of the bill in several whimsical points of view, to the great entertainment of the House, he proposed that instead of the words, June, 1787, the words, June, 1791, should be inserted in the suspending bill.

Mr. O'HARA, in reply, endeavoured to do away the objections that Mr. Hayes had raised. He pointed out the absolute necessity of preserving the rights of election pure, and which could be done only by a general and effectual registry of freeholders. At present, as the law stood, he said, no man let his pretensions to public favour be what they would, could pretend to cope with a person of superior purse, however inferior his other qualifications were. To remedy this abuse was the intention of the bill, which he considered as perfectly free from the faults with which the honourable gentleman had charged it.

Several gentlemen supported the opinion of Mr. Hayes, though every one acknowledged the propriety of Mr. O'Hara's intention, and the necessity of reforming the abuse complained of.

Upon the question being put, that the words June, 1791, be inserted, there were,

Ayes, — 93 ——— Noes, — 43

The bill of suspension, so amended, then passed, and was ordered to be carried to the Lords by Mr. O'Hara.

Read a third time the engrossed bill for promoting the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty certain duties, &c.

Mr. CORRY said that the raising of a revenue only being the object of the bill, that object was defeated by the too high duty, which operated as a premium to the smuggler. That if the smuggler could save one cargo out of three, he must make a rapid fortune. That smuggling was not only injurious to the revenue, but to the trade of the kingdom; because the smuggler did not bring the tobacco from the place of its growth, where the manufactures of Ireland might in return find a market, but from the different kingdoms in Europe, where it must be purchased from a middle man at an advanced price, which must also be paid in cash.

For these reasons, and as it was a known fact that by taking from the smuggler the benefit of any one great object, he would be cramped in all the rest, he moved, that instead of 10d. per pound duty, 6d. should be inserted.

Mr. BERESFORD said, in reply, that it did not appear from the effects of the high duty that the honourable gentleman's position was well founded. He reminded the House, that he had stated the other night, from the custom-house accounts, that on an average of five years, taken before the high duties commenced, the revenue on tobacco had been 96,293l. 19s. 1d. $\frac{2}{3}$ whereas on an average of five years, since the high duties were laid, the revenue was 159,468l. 17s. 7d. $\frac{4}{5}$

The honourable gentleman had stated that if one cargo in three escaped, the smuggler made a rapid fortune: He was mistaken; there were reasons for not being very explicit on this point, which could not escape the honourable gentleman's good sense. But he himself had mentioned some circumstances much against the smuggler—The smuggler was obliged to go to a middle man for his tobacco, and consequently was not only liable to pay that middle man's profit, but double freight.—Add to this, that the freight of a pound of tobacco to the fair trader was but one half-penny, to the smuggler it was two pence. These, and some other disadvantages to the smuggler, were the chief causes why more tobacco was not run into the kingdom.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I am sorry I am again obliged to repeat what I have already so often mention-

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ed to gentlemen; who contend that the expences of government should be limited by the revenues of the kingdom; then surely, on their own principle, it is unfair to endeavour to reduce those revenues. If they desire government to maintain itself on a certain sum of money, is it just to take a large part of that sum away? It is not, and I must vote against the honourable gentleman's motion.

The motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. KEARNEY proposed that the town of Kinfale should be admitted to the privilege of bonding and ware-housing tobacco. He insisted strongly on the excellence of its port, (the only one in the kingdom in which there was a yard for building King's ships) its vicinity to the great manufacturing town of Bandon, from whence goods, both linen and woollen, would be sent to America if the merchants were enabled to take the produce of that country in return.

After having pressed these circumstance on the House, he moved that the words town of Kinfale, be added after the words port of Waterford.

Mr. BERESFORD said it gave him great concern to oppose the wish of the honourable gentleman, but there was no reason that could be urged in favour of Kinfale, that did not apply to several other places in Ireland. And as to its having a king's yard, neither Portsmouth or Plymouth, though they had the greatest yards, and were the best ports in England, enjoyed the privilege contended for. As to the difficulties which the honourable gentleman imagined to lie in the way of the merchants, they might easily be removed by obtaining from the commissioners a previous license to import tobacco. [Here Mr. Beresford read that part of the act of parliament which enables the commissioners of the revenue to grant license for the importation of rum and tobacco, if applied for previous to such importation.] He said the reason that the commissioners could not grant license for the entry of the tobacco at Ross (as mentioned in a former debate) was, that the ship was actually in port before the license was applied for. He said every praise and every indulgence was due to the manufacturers of Bandon, and it was with tenfold reluctance he opposed any wish of a set of people who had entered into a voluntary association not to use smuggled goods.

Mr. Kearney's motion was negatived without a division, and the bill passed.

Passed also, and ordered to the Lords by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the carriage duty bill.

Mr. BROOKE (of Donegal) reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of Lord Sudley,

Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart. Alexander Stewart, of Ards, Esq; and Mr. Samuel Hayes, of Drumboe, in the county of Donegal, that the petitioners had proved the allegations of their petition, and that acceding to the terms by them proposed would much promote the north-west fishery.

Mr. BERESFORD presented a bill for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its port and harbour more commodious; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the several inhabitants of the quays on each side of the river Liffey, from Bloody-bridge to the lower ferry, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners understand that the bill now before the House for consolidating into one law several acts of parliament heretofore passed for better paving the city of Dublin, contains a clause to bind the petitioners to rebuild and keep in constant repair, at their own private expence, the walls of the said quays opposite to their respective dwelling-houses; the petitioners therefore humbly beg leave to mention the great and unequal burden they will be obliged to bear if the same be carried into a law; that the river Liffey is a sewer of the greatest utility to the whole city of Dublin, and every inhabitant thereof, and the breaches made in the said walls are made by the power and activity of the waters, particularly when increased by floods, which no pains or care of the petitioners can obviate or prevent; that rebuilding and repairing the said walls are attended with a very great expence, which many of the petitioners are not able to bear; and therefore praying that the cost of rebuilding and repairing the same may be raised by grand jury presentments off the city at large.

The House adjourned till Friday.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1786.

Mr. SHERIDAN presented a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters within this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

The committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of the inhabitants of Tullamore, reported that the petitioners had proved their allegations.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY said that he would oppose any bill brought in to carry the intention of the petitioners into effect.

Mr. BERESFORD moved for the order of the day, that the bill for encouraging the trade of Dublin, by rendering its har-

hour more commodious, be read a second time, which being done,

Alderman WARREN moved, that the bill be printed.

It was ordered accordingly.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON.—As an opinion has gone forth, very injurious to the Roman Catholics of the county of Roscommon, I take this opportunity of rising to remove the ill-effects of that opinion, which I shall do by reading in my place some resolutions signed by that body of people, at the very head of which is the name of Mr. O'Connor, the elder brother of the madman that has given so much trouble. The Roman Catholics of Roscommon have also drawn up an address to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant—

Mr. ORDE.—I submit to the honourable baronet, whether it is perfectly decent, and consistent with form, to read an address that has not yet been presented?

Sir EDWARD CROFTON acknowledged the justness of the remark, and agreed to put off the reading of the resolutions, &c. till after the address should be presented.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE called for the order of the day, for the House resolving itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the report of the committee to whom the petition of Robert Brooke, Esq; of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, was referred.

Mr. ORDE.—The honourable gentleman has moved for this order, doubtless with a view of proceeding forthwith on the enquiry into the state of Mr. Brooke's affairs. I think, Sir, this is an object of such very great extent and national importance, that too much attention cannot be given to it, for which reason the House ought to take sufficient time fully to investigate the matter.

The public has given very great encouragement to this manufacture, with intent of promoting the public good. You ought now to have the proofs before you, that this intention has been carried into effect by those who have had the expending of the money. If they now come to crave more assistance 'tis but just they should give a satisfactory account of what they have already received. I do not mean by this to check a great national object; for I doubt not they will be able to give this satisfaction; but it will become the wisdom of the House to be convinced that the first grants have been well applied, before they proceed further.

I acknowledge I have not yet had time to give due attention to the committee's report, but there are some articles in the account

of Mr. Brooke's affairs which require explanation. His private debts are stated in the gross at 45,000*l.* his assets at 46,000*l.* Besides his private debts, he borrowed 25,000*l.* from parliament. The House ought surely to consider how the private debt was incurred, whether in carrying on the manufactory, or by any other means.

As to time, there does not appear any date to those debts, so that we cannot tell when they accrued. We must also recollect that the 25,000*l.* lent by parliament was not the only public assistance this gentleman has received. He got very considerable sums to remove the manufacturers, besides other aids for extending his trade, all which the House should fully investigate.

Upon the whole, I say it is my most earnest wish to promote the manufacture, which I consider as a great national object, and highly worthy the attention of parliament; I would therefore recommend that the House, as in a committee of accounts, on a day fixed for the purpose, investigate the matter fully.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE.—I have no objection to Mr. Brooke's affairs being investigated in the closest manner, and I think very great credit is due to the right honourable Secretary for the attention he shews to prevent any waste of public treasure.

I have all along considered this undertaking of Mr. Brooke as a great national measure—As such it has had my support.—As to the individual, though I think him a person that merits much of the public, and though I trust it will appear that he has property to pay every one, yet he is not my object: My object is to preserve the establishment, from the prosperity of which this nation will doubtless draw great advantage.

The investigation of the committee's report was adjourned to Monday.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1786.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM moved to receive a petition from the farmers of the barony of Coolock, against the turnpike bill. He observed, that they thought it a very injurious, partial, and oppressive tax. That it was a petition of a singular nature, for no person had been solicited to sign it; it was a voluntary petition against a partial tax. That the names annexed to it were among the warmest friends of his right honourable colleague.

A petition of several farmers and landholders in that part of the barony of Coolock which joins the road leading from Dublin to Malahide, in the county of Dublin, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners perceive, by the

printed votes of the House, that a bill has been introduced for erecting gates, turnpikes and toll-houses on the road leading from the city of Dublin to Malahide; that the petitioners observe, by the said bill, that the honourable trustees of the said intended turnpike road have a power to erect gates, turnpikes and toll-houses across any bye-road or avenue leading to or adjoining the said road, and that there is no particular part mentioned in the said bill for the first gate, turnpike or toll-house to be erected, by which unlimited power they apprehend a gate or gates, turnpikes or toll-houses, may be so erected that none of the inhabitants of the barony of Coolock can go to the city of Dublin without paying toll, and also by reason of the side gates the petitioners must pay toll for driving their cattle from one part of their farms to another, as many of their said farms are at a distance from each other; that the petitioners have always paid all public taxes and county cesses with regularity and cheerfulness; that the petitioners pay very heavy rents for their lands, and though hay, straw, and other produce of their farms have lately brought a high price in the Dublin markets, yet the advance in price has not been by any proportion adequate to their losses by the failure of their crops, and if additional taxes are laid upon them they must raise the price of these articles which are the produce of their farms; that petitioners with all humility beg leave to lay their particular situation before the House, that if the said bill should pass into a law they will be more taxed than any other part of the county of Dublin, as they will have turnpike toll to pay, a county cess in aid thereof, besides the general presentments by the grand juries, which will enable the rest of the county to undersell them in the Dublin markets; that the direct road from Dublin to Malahide ends at the said town of Malahide, which is a port for fishing vessels, and consequently may induce the fishermen to raise the price of their fish in order to defray the expence of turnpike, and that the said fishermen will then pay a tax which those of Baldoyle, Howth, Clontarf, Ringsend, Bullock and Dunleary are exempt from, which must be deemed a partial hardship; that the petitioners are afraid, from the general dislike the inhabitants of this county have to turnpikes, that county presentments will not be readily passed to repair said road, for the grand juries will not chuse to raise money, the expenciture of which is mixed with that of any other body of men, and by that means the said road may be rendered totally impassable; that they humbly apprehend the yearly tolls of the said intended road would not keep three miles of it in proper repair; that the petitioners hitherto have found no injury or inconvenience in the present mode of making and repairing the roads by county presentments; that the petitioners rely solely on the humanity of this House, the natural protectors and guardians of the poor but industrious farmers, for relief; and that though

very few of them are freeholders, they are confident their petition will be equally well received as if it was signed at a county meeting.

A petition of the company of undertakers of the grand canal, under their common seal, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the commissioners for promoting and carrying on an inland navigation in Ireland, having been empowered by act of parliament to grant an aid to private undertakers of one-sixth part of the sum which should be necessary for carrying on and compleating such inland navigation as such private undertakers should engage to execute, the said commissioners, on the incorporation of the petitioners, agreed to pay to the petitioners the sum of 1000*l.* for every sum of 5000*l.* which they should expend of their own proper money in carrying on their works; and accordingly the said commissioners from time to time, to and until the 12th of November, 1784, issued warrants on the treasury for the several sums up to that period due by them to the petitioners under the said agreement; that since the 12th day of November aforesaid, the petitioners have expended of their own proper money, in carrying on their said works, the sum of 45,000*l.* and upwards, on which expenditure they are entitled to the sum of 9,000*l.*; that the petitioners are informed that the House intends making some new regulations respecting that navigation board; and therefore praying that the House will direct payment to be made to the petitioners of the said sum of 9000*l.* on proof by the petitioners of the expenditure of the said sum of 45,000*l.* before such persons as the House shall think proper to appoint for the purpose.

Mr. LONGFIELD (who had given notice that he would this day make a motion relative to the Portugal trade) said he had observed, that from the length of time spent in the necessary business of the House, a great number of gentlemen had gone away; he would not therefore make his intended motion, but wait till some future opportunity, when the House should be full. He observed, that as the mischief he wanted to prevent (the laying an additional duty on Port wine) had already been done, it was indifferent what time he brought forward his motion.

Mr. ORDE said he wished the motion to be brought forward that moment, convinced as he was that in the present situation of affairs, pending a negotiation, the House would not listen to it an instant.

Mr. MONTGOMERY (of Cavan) said he could see no difficulty in understanding a business that had been now three years in agitation; for every man must know that if the British minister would but speak a word to a nation the most obsequious to his will of any in the world, except Ireland, they would in a minute

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comply with our just demands. The fact, he said, was that the people wanted to be friends with us; the British minister only prevented them.

Mr. GRIFFITH, on introducing a clause into the gaol bill, relative to the city marshalsea, took occasion to speak in the highest terms of the marshal. That gentleman, he said, had with very singular propriety and great humanity, discharged the duties of his office, and he thought him deserving the thanks of the public.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1786.

A petition of the master coopers of the city of Waterford was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners chiefly subsist by the coopering business, and were in use to employ a considerable number of journeymen in that trade, who depended upon them for bread; that the exportation of pork is one of the principal staple articles of trade from said port; that of late large quantities of pork have been exported from said port in a green raw unmanufactured state, under the denomination of bacon, which is made up with little labour, and shipped without casks, to the great prejudice of the petitioners, and a number of other persons who get their bread by cutting, salting and packing said pork, when shipped in casks; that petitioners apprehend the cause of so much pork being exported, as bacon, in manner above-mentioned, is chiefly owing to the great inequality in the duty on bacon and barrel pork, a barrel of pork which contains two hundred pounds, paying 1s. 6d. per barrel, while a side of bacon, which often weighs as much, or more, but seldom under one hundred and seventy pounds, pays only three half-pence per side on exportation, besides the quantity of salt required to cure and pack a barrel of pork, pays at the rate of four pence duty, in proportion to each barrel of pork, on importation; that the petitioners are fully convinced that an additional duty on bacon will not lessen the exportation of pork from this kingdom, so as to hurt the demand for that article, but will only cause it to be exported in casks in preference to the present mode of exporting it in bulk, to the detriment of many useful and industrious members of society; and therefore praying the House to make such laws and regulations as will give a preferable encouragement to the exportation of pork in casks, that numbers may be employed thereby.

A petition of the silk manufacturers of the city of Dublin, and liberties adjacent, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners perceive with concern a clause in an act of parliament, passed last session, "that no part of the funds

" of the Dublin Society shall at any time after the 25th March, 1786, be applied to or be expended in the support of the Irish silk warehouse;" that the petitioners are convinced if the same be carried into execution it cannot fail to ruin the silk manufacture of Ireland, turn multitudes of industrious poor idle into our streets, and be productive of national distress; and therefore praying a clause may be introduced into some act to be passed in this session of parliament, permitting the Dublin Society to continue to encourage the silk manufacture of Ireland in such way as shall appear to them most advantageous, any thing contained in the said recited act to the contrary notwithstanding.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill for improving the harbour of Dublin, Mr. Mason in the chair.

After one paragraph being read,

Alderman WARREN moved the committee to report progress. His reason, he said, for the motion was, that the corporation of the city of Dublin, thinking themselves deeply concerned in the bill, had called a post-assembly this day, to consider of the steps necessary for them to take upon the occasion—From some cause (perhaps the severity of the weather) a sufficient number of gentlemen had not attended; but he understood the assembly was adjourned to Wednesday; and therefore he requested further proceedings in the bill might cease till after that day.

Mr. BERSFORD said it was his intention to postpone the clause which nominates the persons who are to compose the new ballast-office committee, till the city should have an opportunity of coming forward in any manner they might think proper relative to the bill: However, if he was now to go on, the city would have no cause to complain of undue haste; for several weeks had elapsed since he first gave notice of the bill in this session, and indeed it was just the same with that which they had opposed by counsel in the last session; therefore the idea of surprise could not exist. However, to do away all pretence for cavil, he would, as he had said, postpone one clause, which, as the city's objections went against the principle of the bill, would give them as good an opportunity of presenting their petition, as if the whole bill was postponed.

The committee now proceeded on the bill, and a clause being read which provides for the building and repairing of the quays on both sides of the river, from the intended new bridge to the Marine School, by laying a tax of five shillings on every vessel coming into port, colliers and coasters excepted,

Mr. GARDINER said he hoped the committee's power to build quays, and repair the walls of the river, would be extended the

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whole length of the north and south walls. The shipping, he said, did infinite damage by striking against these walls, and it was but reasonable they should repair the same. He himself had some property in the north lots, for which he was annually taxed to keep the wall in repair; but his tax, and that of the other persons who had similar property, amounting altogether to about 90*l.* per annum, was not a sum sufficient to preserve the wall, much less to make good the sudden and frequent damages that it sustained by the shipping. The north wall, he said, was in a most ruinous condition, and if not speedily repaired, the sea would not only retake possession of the fields over which it formerly flowed, but probably that great work, the New Custom-house, would be swept away by an inundation.

Mr. BERESFORD said he had provided for any damage that the shipping could be supposed to do to the quays, by laying a tax on them to repair and keep in good order the quays so far down as the shipping lay; but he thought it would be both unreasonable and unjust to apply the money levied off the shipping to build walls for the protection of the property of his right honourable friend, or any other person.—The proprietors of the lots possessed their property therein on the special condition of fencing it against the sea. Their own interest would compel them to the performance of the condition; he could not therefore consent to apply the money raised for a different purpose to this use.

He said as a friend of his, whom he did not see in his seat, had suggested that some petition would be presented against this bill, to give time for such petition he would move that the committee sit again on Tuesday.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1786.

A petition of the corporation of tanners of the county and town of Carrickfergus, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and all others the tanners and manufacturers of leather in Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tanning and manufacture of leather in this kingdom has of late years suffered very much from the following causes hereafter-mentioned, and if not encouraged and protected by the House will be soon totally lost to this kingdom, whereby not only the petitioners, and those concerned in the trade, will be reduced to the necessity of quitting the same, but also many other useful and necessary branches of trade in which leather is worked up will be much injured, and the price of many articles manufactured with leather be greatly increased; that the petitioners, with concern, see that the great exportation of our raw materials to foreign countries, almost duty free, has greatly contributed to prevent the tanning and

manufacture of leather in this kingdom, and has prevented the exportation of tanned leather from this country to foreign markets, insomuch that the exportation thereof has considerably decreased for several years past; that the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that the scarcity and dearness of oak bark in this kingdom is another cause of the great decline of their manufacture, the price whereof has greatly encreased these some years past, and prevented the petitioners from being able to procure a sufficient quantity thereof for the tanning of their raw materials on such terms as to enable the petitioners, and those of the tanning trade, to manufacture their goods either for consumption at home, or to send them to foreign markets on equal terms with other countries; that from the scarcity of oak bark in the year 1785, many of the petitioners were reduced to extreme difficulties and distress, and had it not been for the coldness of the season the raw materials then on the petitioners hands would have perished, they not being able to procure oak bark for saving the same; that the petitioners apprehend that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this country may, under proper encouragement, become a branch of business of great consequence to Ireland in general, as well as to the petitioners, who have embarked their entire substance therein, and spent their lives in the pursuit and improvement thereof; that the petitioners apprehend and believe that if an additional duty be laid upon the exportation of raw materials from this into foreign countries, and a bounty granted on the importation of oak bark into this kingdom from America, the East Country, Germany, or other parts of the Continent of Europe (from whence that article may be procured annually in any quantity for the supply of Irish tannage) together with a bounty on the exportation of manufactured leather, will assist our export of tanned leather, enable them to manufacture the raw material, prevent foreigners having a supply of that sort of leather fit for their use, make Ireland the mart for said goods, and necessitate foreigners to apply to them for the materials when manufactured, as the green commodity they bring from hence is by far superior to any they can supply themselves with from other markets; that the petitioners apprehend and believe they would be able to regain from foreign nations this branch of trade if the House shall be pleased to take their case into consideration, and pass such laws for their relief as in their wisdom shall seem fit.

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the act of 1782, depriving the city of Dublin of the bounty on the exportation of corn, has, in its operation, proved highly injurious to the kingdom at large, and to this county in particular; that the vicinity of this county to the metropolis, naturally an advantage, is now

most unjustly made a pretext to deprive them of those benefits which are held out to the nation at large, and they are compelled to contribute to pay the expence of export bounties to every other part of the kingdom, from which they alone are, by the grossest partiality, deprived of any share, and even the option of commuting the inland for the export bounty denied, under the pretence that no guard could be devised against frauds; that under those circumstances tillage is depressed, industry discouraged, the capitals of the Dublin merchants rendered useless, the benefit of cheap freights from Dublin lost, and thereby the kingdom prevented from exporting its produce to that degree of advantage it would otherwise arrive to, in order to face at foreign markets the grain of other countries, so as to stand a competition upon the most favourable ground; and therefore praying the House to take this important subject into consideration, and direct that in future the same bounties may be granted from Dublin as are allowed from every other port in Ireland.

A petition of the grand jury of the county of Dublin, at Hilary Term, 1786, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners humbly beg leave to lay before the House their very great concern at the alarming encrease of public executions in the county, as well for murder as other enormous crimes, which can be attributed to no other cause than the universal depravity of the lower order of people, occasioned by the frequent and immoderate use of spirituous liquors; that the petitioners with deference submit that the number of persons licensed and unlicensed who retail spirits in the metropolis, as well as the liberties and environs thereof, is the cause of this great evil, which petitioners apprehend would be corrected if a law passed similar to that so wisely framed in Great Britain, when the immoderate use of gin pervaded the metropolis, which law was the origin of the porter brewery, at least the cause of its present flourishing state; and therefore praying the House to take this grievous and growing evil into their serious consideration, and to pass a law preventive of a mischief so incompatible with industry, and so destructive of the morals of the people.

A petition of Henry Wood, of Mill-street, Dublin, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioner, at a very considerable expence, hath purchased and brought into this kingdom a machine that separates the flesh side of a bullock's or calf's hide from the grain side, thereby saving, in two serviceable pieces of leather, that which is now wasted in reducing an hide to a proper thickness for use, and leaving the grain side of more equal thickness than it is when shaved down with the knives commonly used for that purpose; that the leather saved by this machine will make good shoes and boots, as strong veal or calves

hides which are generally applied to those purposes have half their thickness shaved away on the flesh side to reduce the grain side to a proper thickness for use, the flesh side being the finest and best leather; that the leather saved by this machine in shaving down strong kips or thin bullocks hides, will make brogues or strong shoes, also several articles used by coach and harness-makers, to which purposes the said hides are usually applied; that coach-makers use large hides, weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds per hide, to cover the roofs of coaches and other carriages, which hides require shaving down so much that from ten to fourteen pounds weight of leather is usually wasted in reducing them, that by this machine would be saved in pieces fit to make quarter pannels of, and applicable to many other purposes to which leather is applied in the coach-makers business; that it will shave down skins or hides as soon as they are taken out of the lime pit and the hair taken off them, by which means half the present expence of tanning them would be saved, as the leather by being thinner would receive the tan much the sooner; that it will also split or separate sheep skins, the one side whereof will be useful to book-binders, and the other to make parchment of; that on an average a third of an hide of leather is saved by it; that beside the petitioner's there are but two other machines of the same kind in Europe, the oldest of which was made about six years ago, and is now exercised under a patent by a Mr. Crawley, currier, in Camomile-street, having (as the petitioner is informed) cost near 1200l. sterling, as it is on a larger construction than the petitioner's, being made to cut fourteen inches wider, and to work by horses; that the other of the said machines (which is of the same size as the petitioner's) is at Paris, and was (as the petitioner is also informed) sold by a Mr. Beau, about a twelvemonth since, to the tanners of Paris for the sum of 800l. sterling, and that a pension of 40l. per annum had also been settled on the said Mr. Beau for life by the king; that the petitioner's machine having cost him four hundred guineas, he has not a property to employ it to advantage, which would require the sum of 300l. sterling; and therefore praying the aid and encouragement of the House.

A petition of the merchants and traders of the city of Cork, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that by an act of parliament passed in the nineteenth and twentieth years of his Majesty's reign, the Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, with such merchants to be chosen as mentioned in said act, are empowered to elect and appoint butter-tasters in the said city of Dublin, which were thought necessary to be appointed for the improvement of the trade thereof; that the extension of such power to the city of Cork would be a great improvement to the butter trade thereof; and therefore praying the House to empower the mayor of the said city of Cork, with a pro-

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per number of merchants thereof, to appoint tasters of butter for said city of Cork, as in Dublin, under such regulations and restrictions, and with like powers as contained in said act.

Mr. HARTLEY said he had the honour yesterday to present to the House the petition of the silk-manufacturers of this city, praying that part of the money granted to the Dublin Society might be applied to the encouragement of the Irish silk ware-house. He begged gentlemen would consider the good effects of that house. At the time it was instituted there were but sixty looms in this city, now there were above eight hundred. Since it was productive of such universal good, he did not think it was the policy of government to let it drop.

It was ordered that the committee to whom it was referred to take into consideration a bill for granting the sum of 5000l. to the Dublin Society, for the purposes therein mentioned, be empowered to receive a clause that the sum of 2500l. part of the said sum of 5000l. shall be applied by the society in encouraging the silk and woollen manufactures, in encreasing the leather trade, by promoting an importation of oak bark from countries whence it has not been usually imported in quantities exceeding four hundred tons in any one year, in machinery for or otherwise aiding the white finishing of woollen goods, in encouraging the dying business, and in supporting schools for drawing and other useful sciences; and also a clause to prevent any part of the funds of the said society from being applied to the support of any house or warehouse for selling by wholesale or retail any silk manufacture whatsoever.

Mr. CHATTERTON presented a bill for the improvement of this kingdom, by enabling archbishops, bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, to make leases for lives or years; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. LLOYD presented a bill for making the town of Tullamore the shire town of the King's County, and the only town where the assizes and general gaol delivery for said county shall be held; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY said he would not oppose the reading of any bill, but he would oppose this bill being committed.

Mr. HAMILTON presented a bill to enable Henry Hamilton, Esq; to take upon him the surname of Cox instead of that of Hamilton, and to continue the surname of Cox to all his descendants, pursuant to the will of Sir Richard Cox, Baronet, deceased, and to oblige him and them to bear and use the arms of the said Sir Richard Cox instead of those belonging to the Hamiltons; which was received and read the first time.

It was ordered that the committee to whom it was referred to take into consideration a bill for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Dublin Society, for the purposes therein mentioned, be empowered to receive a clause for applying the sum of 800*l.* part of the said sum of 5000*l.* for the encouragement of the glass manufacture of this kingdom.

It was also ordered that the committee to whom it was referred to take into consideration a bill for granting the sum of 4000*l.* to the trustees of the linen manufacture, for the purposes therein mentioned, be empowered to receive a clause to enable the said trustees to appoint one inspector for the county of Tipperary, and one other inspector for the county of the city of Waterford.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE moved that the order for the report being made of the survey and expence of certain navigations be postponed to this day fortnight. He said that on account of the late uncommonly severe weather it was impossible that the survey could be made.

It was ordered accordingly.

Mr. WOLFE moved the order of the day for going into a committee of the whole House on the report of the committee on the petition of Robert Brooke, Esq; of Prosperous.

Mr. ORDE said since the last day on which the subject had been mentioned he had bestowed much pains and attention on it, and he still remained of the same opinion, that a strict examination would be necessary before the House would be able to form any determination. He had taken occasion to converse with persons well acquainted with the manufacture; and from every thing he could learn there were the strongest objections not only to Captain Brooke's plan, but to the resolutions of the committee. At the same time he observed that it was the fixed intention of government to give the most effectual aid to the manufacture, and to shew every indulgence to the individual, but it remained with the House to point out the proper mode of giving that aid which so great a national object deserved.

He said the efforts which Captain Brooke had made should certainly be considered, but he could not think parliament would be justified in advancing so great a sum as his debts amounted to. Besides there was no security that he would continue his efforts, or if he did that they would be more successful than hitherto. Several persons had, he said, been mentioned as desirous of becoming partners with Captain Brooke; he would wish to have an interview with those persons, and to sift the matter to the bottom. He therefore moved the order to be postponed to Friday se'nnight.

Mr. WOLFE said he was perfectly satisfied at hearing such an explicit determination from the right honourable gentleman; he was content to have the subject postponed, and that go-

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vernment should take every step that prudence required to warrant them in supporting the manufacture. He therefore, with great pleasure, would leave the business in the hands of the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. ORDE said he would be sorry the honourable gentleman should receive a mistaken idea of what he had said: His meaning was, that it was the duty of government and of that House, as trustees for the public, to receive and attend to every proposal for improving and extending the manufactures, and to patronize such as promised success. He hoped it would not now be necessary on the part of the Duke of Rutland, to declare the most liberal encouragement of the manufactures, but it was necessary to take care that the extensions of liberality were not improperly bestowed.

As to Captain Brooke's manufactory, he thought it might, and ought to be supported, though at that moment he was ignorant of the best means of doing it: However, government would gladly receive every information in order to direct them how the advantages of what had been advanced might be preserved to the nation, with due regard to the individual.

The order was postponed to Friday March the 10th.

Mr. GRIFFITH moved that the order of the day, for going into the committee on the bill to explain and amend the act respecting the fees of persons acquitted of felony, should be read; which being done, he said too much praise could not be bestowed on the humanity that had originally dictated the bill. He would have taken notice of fees upon a late occasion, but that as he had found himself (when he was drawing up the bill which he had lately the honour to present to the House respecting gaols) quite unequal to this task, he would wish the gentlemen of the law department would in some measure assist him: He said there were many melancholy instances of persons acquitted of crimes, and others who had suffered the penalty of the law by confinement, who, for want of money to discharge their fees, remain months, years, nay even their whole lives in prison. But he would mention one case in particular, which struck him at that moment. There is, said he, at this time in the gaol of Newgate, a man whose case deserves compassion. He is a Swedish sailor, who was confined on the supposition of purloining some of the cargo, but as the ship sailed before the trial, he was acquitted for want of evidence, and ordered to find bail for his good behaviour; but as he had no money to discharge his fees, and cannot find security in a foreign country, he cannot be liberated. He is above three months in prison since his acquittal, and perhaps may remain for life if his case is not taken up.

I could wish, said he, that the gentlemen would take this up. It is a scandal to our legislature, and they ought to be ashamed to hear it.

Mr. GARDINER said he rose to set the honourable gentleman right in one particular. By the present law no persons could be confined after their acquittal, and beside the letting them out immediately produced many vagabonds.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said that the laws were explicit enough on this subject, but he was clear the gentlemen vested with this power did not use it. Gentlemen say, said he, that liberating them produces vagabonds. How can it be otherwise? Can it be expected men confined six or seven months among vagabonds, can be immediately able to act like innocent men?

Some years ago the British legislature wisely and humanely passed an act similar to ours, for abolishing fees; a great outcry was instantly raised against it—by whom? By a class of men who differed extremely in England from the similar class here—by judges, clerks of the crown, and other officers, that wrung a certain profit from misery.

Gentlemen, he said, had done him the honour to attribute to his humanity the bill he had introduced for the purpose of discharging prisoners acquitted, without fees; but though he thanked them, and allowed that a praise-worthy motive, he had a stronger inducement—a sense of his duty, a regard to the spirit of the laws and constitution of his country. It was the principle both of law and constitution to extend equal justice to every man, and that no innocent person should ever suffer any punishment.

The order was then postponed till Thursday.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1786.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill for consolidating into one law the different acts for paving, lighting and cleansing the city of Dublin.

Upon the clerks reading a clause, whereby the commissioners were to be empowered to summon before them all persons accused of offending against the act, and likewise all persons who could give evidence touching any such offence; and in case they refused or neglected to appear, to fine them for every such neglect or refusal, five pounds, and so on *de die in diem* until they should appear; also to send to the house of correction, for three months, any person who should treat with contempt the said commissioners, or any of them,

Mr. ANNESLEY said as it is impossible that any amendment or qualification of this clause can make it fit to be received by this House, I shall move that it be expunged.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said it was his intention to accommodate the bill to the opinion of gentlemen, for which purpose he had risen to move himself for expunging the clause, having, with the aid of his learned friend [Mr. Charles O'Neil] drawn up one which would answer every purpose of the bill, and could give no possible offence.

He could not, however, agree that the clause to be expunged deserved the very hard character that had been given of it, both in this and a former day's debate. In a former debate it had been said that it should not be suffered to be read in any country where a spark of civil liberty existed; yet he could shew no less than seven statutes in which similar powers were given, particularly the act constituting the board of governors of the Work-house.

The clause was struck out, and a new clause inserted, by which the commissioners are empowered to summon as in the former.

Mr. HAYES proposed that women might not be compelled to appear personally before the commissioners, amongst the lamp-lighters and ruffians of every description, but that they might be allowed to appear by attorney. He thought nothing of men being compelled to go to the office, but women he would not be over fond of trusting amongst the commissioners themselves, much less such persons as he had mentioned.

He also declared his high approbation of the conduct and exertions of the commissioners; they had, he said, not only cleansed an Augean stable, but given light to drag Caucus from his den; and he hoped they would go on till they discovered the lamp of Aladin, which not only gave light, but riches, honour and power to its possessor.

Mr. GARDINER moved to include the barony of Donore in the intention of the bill.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE resisted the motion. He stated that that barony had been included by the right honourable gentleman in the first paving act, and that at the expence of the city he immediately got it paved; that being once paved, in another act he got it exempted, and that it to this hour owed a debt of seven hundred pounds, which could not be collected on account of the poverty of its inhabitants. He declared he thought it would be the most flagrant act of injustice to apply the money raised on the citizens of Dublin to pave a place with which they had no more concern than with the city of Cork; and as the inhabitants of Donore might, whenever they were inclined to pay for it, make a bargain with the commissioners to pave their streets, he did not think they laboured under any hardship by being excluded from the operation of the present bill.

The committee divided upon admitting Donore,

Ayes - - 21 ——— Noes - - 18

The committee then agreed to report progress, and adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1786.

Mr. HOLMES presented a bill to establish the business of a pawnbroker, and to authorize such persons as shall be duly qualified to carry on the same, to lend money on pawns or pledges, and to receive interest at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for granting the sum of 20,000*l.* to certain trustees for distributing bounties, and promoting the several manufactures therein named; which was received and read the first time.

The House resolved itself into a committee on the bill to promote the trade of Dublin, by making the port and harbour more commodious.

Mr. BERESFORD proposed several amendments, the principal of which was, the nomination of the new commissioners appointed for the future direction of the ballast and pilot offices, viz.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Ranelagh,	Alderman George Sutton,
The Right Hon. John Beresford,	Alderman James Hamilton,
The Right Hon. John Foster,	Alderman William Alexander,
The Right Hon. Sir John Parnell,	Robert Black, Esq;
The Right Hon. John Monck Mason,	Isaac Weld, Esq;
The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor,	Leland Crosthwaite, Esq;
The Sheriffs for the time being,	John Patrick, Esq;
	Arthur Bryan, Esq; and
	John Sandwich, Esq.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said that he was confident this bill would answer the ends proposed; that the harbour would be rendered more commodious, and ballast more easily and readily obtained. That the right honourable mover of it had framed it for the advantage of the trade of the city of Dublin. He had but one objection to it, which was, that it curtailed the rights of the corporation of the city; but as there was no petition against it, he supposed that the board of aldermen had got a succedaneum for their qualms.

The bill, after a small interruption to give time for the insertion of the clause, being gone through, was reported, and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. GARDINER presented a bill for the improvement of the principal avenues leading to the city of Dublin, which was received and read the first time.

Mr. GEORGE OGLE said that out of compliment to his right honourable friend, he would not oppose it in its present stage; but as it was a bill to lay an intolerable tax on the citizens of Dublin, and upon the inhabitants of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, &c. who chiefly supplied the city with provisions, it should in every future stage of its progress have his most decided opposition.

Mr. GARDINER answered, that the opposition given to his bill was because it was not understood, and he wished that its discussion might be in one of the fullest houses.

A petition of the landholders in the county of Dublin, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners observe, by the votes of this honourable House, that leave has been given to bring in a bill to erect turnpikes upon all the roads leading to Dublin; that petitioners apprehend, should such a bill pass into a law, it would prove a most grievous and oppressive tax upon agriculture, and utterly destroy the roads of this county; that petitioners observe that wherever turnpikes have been established, the roads are generally in a ruinous condition, while the roads that are under the management and controul of grand juries are kept in good repair; that petitioners therefore suppose the turnpike system ill adapted to this country, but they cheerfully pay the grand jury assessments, having a confidence in that established and constitutional mode of levying and applying their money; that the farmers who hold lands adjacent to the roads made by presentment have taken such lands at an advanced rent, under a confidence that they never would be burdened with a turnpike tax; if therefore turnpikes should be established it will be impossible for them to pay such rents, as the produce of their lands coming to market, and the manure they draw from Dublin, will then be highly taxed; and therefore praying the House to take the premises into consideration,

FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 1786.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY presented a bill for continuing and amending several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein, and for other purposes therein mentioned; which was received and read the first time,

The House resolved itself into a committee on the bill for consolidating into one law the different paving acts, Sir Richard Johnston in the chair.

Mr. LONGFIELD observed, that on a former day he had promised to bring forward the subject of our trade to Portugal; as there was now a great number of members present, there could not be a more proper opportunity, and therefore he moved that the chairman should report progress in the bill now before the committee, in order to make way for the Portugal business.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER opposed the motion, upon the ground of no day having been fixed to debate the subject proposed; besides, several of the members who best understood the subject were absent, particularly the principal Secretary of State, and the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary [Mr. Orde]. He desired that it might not be thought he wished to avoid the question, and promised to meet it at any appointed day.

Upon a division there appeared for the chairman's leaving the chair,

Ayes, — 43 ——— Noes, — 79

It was then agreed to bring the Portugal business forward next Thursday.

The committee proceeded on the paving bill, and after some time spent therein reported progress.

Mr. LLOYD moved that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill for making Tullamore the shire town of the King's County.

Mr. W. B. PONSONBY opposed the motion. He said he considered the intention of the bill as an infringement on private property, which he was convinced the justice of the House would never countenance.

Upon putting the question, there appeared for going into a committee on the bill,

Ayes, — 62 ——— Noes, — 71

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY then moved, that the House will, on the first of September next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on the said bill, which was carried without a division.—The bill was therefore totally lost.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1786.

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, signed by the sheriff of the said county, was presented to the House and

read, setting forth that the petitioners are greatly alarmed lest a bill or bills for placing of turnpikes on all the avenues leading to this city should be adopted by the House, and passed into a law; that the landholders of said county do now pay a very heavy cess for the repair of the roads, and if a turnpike tax is to be superadded to said cess, it cannot fail to operate to the diminution of the value of the lands taken at a high rent, on consideration of being exempt from turnpikes; and, from the example of most turnpike roads in this kingdom, they apprehend that the avenues leading to this city will be rendered much worse; that laying an universal restraint upon the free communication between the county and the city will check the cultivation of the land, and discourage the industry of its inhabitants; that the petitioners conceive great hopes of the failure of said bill or bills in the consistency of the House, which has already so frequently, in conformity to the sense of this county, rejected similar attempts; and therefore praying that the said bill or bills may not pass into a law.

A petition of the tanners of Kinsale, on behalf of themselves and all others the tanners and manufacturers of leather in Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this kingdom has of late years very greatly declined, and if not encouraged and protected by the House will be soon totally lost to this kingdom, whereby not only the petitioners and those concerned in that trade will be reduced to the necessity of quitting the same, but also many other useful and necessary branches of trade in which leather is worked up will be much injured, and the price of the many articles manufactured with leather be greatly increased; that the petitioners with concern see that the great exportation of our raw materials to all foreign countries, almost duty free, has greatly contributed to prevent the tanning business and manufacture of leather in this kingdom, and has prevented the exportation of tanned leather from this country to foreign markets, inasmuch that the exportation thereof has decreased three parts out of four during the last ten years, compared with the next ten years preceding; that the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that the scarcity and dearth of oak bark in this kingdom is another cause of the great decline of the manufacture, the price whereof has very greatly increased these some years past, and prevented the petitioners from being able to procure a sufficient quantity thereof for the tanning of their raw materials, on such terms as to enable them and those of the tanning trade to manufacture their goods either for consumption at home, or to send them to foreign markets on equal terms with other countries; that the petitioners, from the scarcity and dearth of bark in the year 1785, were in great danger of being reduced to extreme difficulties and distress, and that had.

it not been for the coldness of that season the raw materials then on the petitioners hands would have perished, they not being able to procure, on any terms, oak bark for saving the same; that the petitioners apprehend that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this country may, under proper encouragement, become a branch of business of great consequence to Ireland in general, as well as to the petitioners, who have embarked their entire substance therein, and spent their lives in the pursuit and improvement thereof; that the petitioners apprehend and believe that if an additional duty be laid on the exportation of raw materials from this kingdom into foreign countries, and a bounty granted on the importation of oak bark into this kingdom from America, the East Country, Germany, or other parts of the Continent of Europe, (from whence that article may be procured annually in any quantity for the supply of Irish tannage) together with a bounty on the exportation of manufactured leather, will assist our export of tanned leather, enable us to manufacture our raw materials, prevent foreigners having a supply of that sort of leather fit for their use, make Ireland the mart for said goods, and necessitate foreigners to apply to us for our materials when manufactured, as the green commodity they bring from hence is by far superior to any they can supply themselves with from other markets; that the petitioners apprehend and believe they would be able to regain from foreign nations this branch of trade if the House shall be pleased to take their case into consideration, and pass such laws for their relief as to their wisdom shall seem fit; and praying relief

Mr. GRIFFITH brought up the report from the committee of the whole House, to whom was referred a bill for regulating the gaols and public prisons in this kingdom.

Alderman WARREN said that so many clauses had been introduced for appointing inspectors, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and druggists, and so many alterations made in the original bill, for creating so many useless and expensive offices, that it appeared to him to be quite a new bill; and he was therefore of opinion that the bill should be recommitted, in order that gentlemen should consider it with some greater degree of attention.

Mr. GRIFFITH expressed his astonishment at the honourable member's calling this a new bill, a bill that in every stage was maturely considered, and to which he himself had paid some attention. He could see no reason for recommitting the bill.

Mr. HOLMES said that the bill now before the House, was exactly the same as the one printed a year ago; it could not therefore be properly called a new bill.

Mr. MASON spoke to the point of order. He said the report might be gone through and the bill engrossed, and on the third

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reading, whatever amendments gentlemen had to offer, might be then received.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL moved, that 100*l.* a year be the salary of the inspector, instead of 60*l.*

The SPEAKER observed that the parliamentary rule was, that no burden could be laid on the subject without first passing through a committee of the whole House, and he was therefore not warranted to put any question on the motion.

On a motion of Lord Luttrell, the consideration of the report was postponed 'till Monday.

At the same time his Lordship moved a clause respecting the allowing a reasonable salary to the keeper of the New Prison, to be referred to a committee of the whole House; and the clause was ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday next.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM moved that the petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, should be referred to the committee on the Malahide turnpike bill.

Mr. BERESFORD moved that it should be read through, and then observed, that it did not relate to the Malahide bill, as it stated a bill or bills for erecting turnpikes on all the avenues leading to the city of Dublin, and therefore he would oppose its being referred to that committee.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM contended that the freeholders meant it against the Malahide as well as all other turnpikes; that the right honourable member knew the contents of it better than he did, as it was only at that instant delivered to him by the high sheriff, and consequently he had not a moment to read it.

The House went into a committee on the Malahide turnpike bill, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM moved that the petition from the landholders of the barony of Coolock should be read.

The petition was read throughout.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM stated, that it was an oppressive bill; it taxed a set of industrious farmers in the barony of Coolock in a most partial manner; that those farmers were men of character, and worked hard to pay the heavy rents of their lands. He also stated, that it would treble their present burdens. Will you, said he, tax the honest and industrious farmer to support extravagance? Can gentlemen expect to get their rents, if they oppress the landholder? He said that it was absurd to pass a bill to make a turnpike for only eight miles to a town that was not a thoroughfare; such a bill was never before introduced into parliament—

parliament might pass it, but grand juries of the county would never correspond with turnpike trustees on the subject of public money, one being on their oaths, and the other not.—Did gentlemen wish to annihilate the yeomanry of Ireland?—He said that this act was so oppressive, that it must be repealed.—That gentlemen of fortune might indulge themselves in their whims, but it was cruel to harass the industrious farmers.—That the farmers were the principal supporters of the state. Impoverish them, said he, and you will raise the price of the necessaries of life. This bill cannot stand; its demerits must repeal it.—He stated the additional tax it would be; on some farmers twelve pounds, on others ten pounds, and several must pay seven pounds a year additional tax.

Lord LUTTRELL supported the objections made by the honourable knight, and said he should oppose this bill, as he found it was against the inclination and wishes of the inhabitants of that part of the country.

The bill was supported by Mr. Richard Annesley and Mr. Beresford, on the principle that it was but fair that those persons who break up a road should pay for repairing it.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM moved that the chairman do now leave the chair.

On the question being put, it passed in the negative without a division.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON moved, that the words “and Swords” be expunged, which was accordingly done.

He then moved a proviso, that no turnpike should be erected on the road from Dublin over Ballybough-bridge to Clontarf, which was accordingly inserted in the bill.

Went through the bill with amendments, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM gave notice that he would oppose the bill on its third reading.

The bill for continuing and amending several laws relating to his Majesty's revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein, and for other purposes therein mentioned, was read a second time.

Mr. STEWART (of Killymoon) said he found himself disappointed in this bill. He expected that the obnoxious clauses complained of so very justly in the present revenue bill would be left out in this; one part was extremely severe, which was that no traverse should lie against a presentment. When the bill was in

committee, the proper stage for debate, he would propose some alteration.

Mr. GEORGE MONTGOMERY declared he should give the bill the most decided opposition. He said it went to invade the rights of the subject, and to subvert the constitution; and he thought it somewhat strange, that at a time when due attention is recommended from the throne, that the servants of the crown should frame acts, tending to irritate instead of conciliate the people. This bill, he said, particularly affected the power of grand juries, that great bulwark of our constitution.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he should propose an alteration in the clause, obliging grand juries to present fines for unlicensed stills; which was, that the judge of assize should be empowered to impose the fine, and the grand jury be totally exempted from that obligation.

It was agreed that the bill should be committed for Wednesday next.

MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1786.

Mr. ALCOCK presented a bill for building a bridge over the river Suir, at Waterford; which was received and read a first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said that before he should move the House to enter into a committee on the bill for granting 20,000*l.* for the improvement of the manufactures of this kingdom, he would, as it was just and proper the House should be satisfied that the like sum granted last year had been duly applied, move that a committee be appointed to enquire into the expenditure of 20,000*l.* granted last year for the improvement of manufactures.

A short conversation arose on the subject of the grant, between Mr. Corry and Mr. Holmes.

Mr. CORRY lamented that no part of this grant had operated but in the southern parts of this kingdom, and that not one northern member's name was to be found among those appointed as a board for the management of the bounties.

Mr. HOLMES, on the other hand, observed that this money being principally intended to promote the woollen manufactures, naturally settled in the wool counties; and that it was with pleasure he informed the House their grant of last session had the happiest operation.

The committee was accordingly nominated.

Mr. FORBES.—On the day that the report was made from the committee of supply, a right honourable friend of mine made a motion that if the taxes of last year, to the amount of 140,000*l.* were to be continued, it would be necessary for government to restrain their expences to their income. This motion, though obviously necessary, was opposed by gentlemen on the side of administration, under the pretence that circumstances might arise which would make it improper, and even dangerous for parliament to set limits to the expences of government. These arguments, though easily confuted, were however urged with that success which usually attends the arguments from that side of the House, and consequently the motion failed. I then called upon gentlemen who declined to establish a general system of economy, that they would at least adopt part of its detail, but they observed a strict silence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, indeed, declared his wishes, while he lamented his total inability, to stop profusion. From these circumstances I have considered it the duty of every member of parliament, who is a friend to economy, to take a part in restraining the profusion of public money, especially as the pension list is at present 95,000*l.* per annum, without including military pensions, of which 7,500*l.* has been added this session. Surely this excess, so extravagant in its nature and rapid in its progress, challenges the immediate attention of the House. This evil appears to be advancing with an authority and boldness as if it was a property of the Irish constitution, when in reality it is an abuse of its government. When I proposed that no person holding a place or pension at the will of the crown should be capable of sitting in this House, gentlemen seemed to think that such a motion, should it be carried, would infringe on the rights and prerogative of the crown. I have no such intention, and to prove that I have not, I shall separate the question of economy from the question of prerogative altogether—the rights of the crown shall not be involved in what I shall propose—I shall proceed by slow degrees in the reform I trust I shall obtain, nor is it my desire to hurt gentlemen who are unfortunately on the pension list; on the contrary, I wish to shew them every mark of regard and personal respect. Far be it from me to excite in the minds of gentlemen any distressful question. I do not wish to aggravate the misfortune of the pensioner during pleasure, who is dependent on the precarious bounty of every man, whom the caprice of fortune, or the struggle of party in England, may erect into a minister of Ireland; the measures I shall take shall not be novel, they shall be sanctioned either by the precedent of the English or Irish parliament.

He then proceeded to shew that in the year 1757, when the annual charge of pensions amounted to no more than 45,000*l.* a resolution had unanimously passed that House, that paying so great a sum in pensions was an improvident disposition of the public reve-

due, and a grievance which ought to be redressed. What then, demanded he, ought to be the vote of the House in 1785, when the pension list is 95,000*l.* per annum, when it even exceeds the whole amount of all the charges of the civil establishment. But the pension list has encreased in proportion as the very causes which should have operated to its diminution have encreased. In 1757, the patronage of the crown was nothing to what it is at present—the increase of salaries—the increased number of judges, with their increased salaries—the establishment of a stamp-office, several other establishments, civil and military—the bringing home of employments and dignities, both in church and state, formerly held by absentees; these circumstances made it less necessary for the crown to encrease the pension list, for at this period one would conceive that the patronage of the crown was extended to a degree sufficient to satisfy the most rapacious of its servants, or the most profuse of its ministers. In 1757, many reasons existed which might warrant a pension list of 45,000*l.* but which could not, in 1785, be brought to excuse a list of 95,000*l.*—In the year 1757 there was a redundancy in the treasury of 240,000*l.* the country was not burdened with taxes, many sources of revenue were untouched; whereas, in 1785, every thing but the immediate necessities of life, and the land, was taxed, and the nation owed a debt of more than two millions!—The pensions of Ireland, he observed, exceeded the pensions of England:—Upon what ground could this be justified? Were the revenue, the commerce, the resources of Ireland greater than those of England? Was the number of persons who deserved reward in Ireland greater than those who deserved reward in England? No. If not, could any man say that pensions were granted with any other intention than to overturn the independence of the parliament of Ireland. It was idle, he said, to talk of an independent parliament, whose members received wages from the crown; it was not in human nature, for so long as the hope of reward, and the fear of receiving injury, would operate upon the mind of man, so long would pensions given to members of parliament be able to sway them from their duty. A pensioner is but a man, and until the minister could exempt him from the common condition of humanity, he must be influenced by his pension.

He further observed that the great security of the British constitution, and its peculiar excellence, depended on that balance which ought to subsist between the three estates; that by mutually checking each other, that balance could only be preserved. But the House of Commons could not controul the power of the crown while its members were dependent on the crown during pleasure. This had been the principle in Britain, on which the law for disabling pensioners, during pleasure, or for a term of years, from sitting in the House of Commons, had been founded; it was

a principle, a condition by which the king held his crown, and the protestant succession had been secured to the house of Hanover by the act of settlement; and if such a principle was not adopted in Ireland, and established as a law, in a short time it was to be feared a most complete system of despotism would be established.

He also observed that the list of pensions lately granted exemplified the most wanton profusion, for the minister had granted additional pensions to members of the House of Commons, who were before dependent on the minister by enjoying pensions during pleasure. He was astonished when he first heard that a minister had recommended to English government members for pensions, who enjoyed already pensions during pleasure, and he could account for it in no other manner but this—that the present Irish minister was determined to adapt his politics to a maxim of Hudibras, expressed in these lines:

- “What makes all doctrines plain and clear,
- “About three hundred pounds a year;
- “And these, which were full plain before,
- “Obscure again,—three hundred more!”

Therefore, though great prodigality was displayed in the last list of pensions, he was for a time in some measure reconciled to it, under a persuasion that the ostensible minister in granting those pensions was pursuing the maxim of Hudibras, which, extraordinary as it might appear, would prove beneficial to this country; for it presaged that the minister intended to hold doctrines directly the reverse of those he had held since the commencement of his administration, and to pursue a system diametrically opposite to that which he had pursued since he had been placed at the helm of the Irish government; and he added that he was certain that by such means only the ostensible minister could gain the confidence of the people of Ireland, or render service to the kingdom of Ireland. But from the late conduct of the minister, he said, he now was convinced that the only object of administration, in granting many of the pensions in the last list, was to establish a bold and unprincipled system of expence in this country—to proclaim to every gentleman, who was inclined to attach himself to ministry, that ministerial, and not public service, was the best recommendation to public bounty; and that every consideration of public economy should yield to the importunity of individual demand.

He concluded with exhorting gentlemen of all sides, and of all ranks, to reprobate the increase of pensions. To such gentlemen as held pensions, he said it was their interest to oppose the increase of the list, lest overdoing the matter, it should soon become so intolerable as to be utterly abolished. To gentlemen who desired to promote the trade and commerce of their country, he observed that commerce and trade must sink under the weight of taxes

necessary to sustain the list, and he warned landed gentlemen to consider, ere too late, that the extravagance of ministers, having exhausted every other source, must at last fasten upon their estates.

—He called on gentlemen of the landed interest not to content themselves with having resisted the attack made on the constitution on the 12th of August last. Their spirits were great, their services signal on that day; but they should not stop there, they should endeavour to secure the constitution from future attacks. The minister of England lately attempted to raise fortifications, which would have been insufficient and ineffectual round the source of England's security.—Let the members of the Irish House of Commons reprove him by the example of a better conduct, by adopting and passing into a law the provisions devised and enacted by the guardians of the British liberties at the revolution; let them draw lines of circumvallation, and erect effectual fortifications around Ireland's only security—the independence of her parliament. In the debate on Mr. Conolly's motion, the minister in effect referred it to this House, whether a system of economy should be adopted or not: He in effect said, "my economy must originate in your self-denial." In the act at present existing in England for disabling pensioners during pleasure, or for terms of years, from sitting in the House of Commons, it is stated in the preamble, "that it is for the support of the honour of the House of Commons." I trust that the Irish Commons will prove themselves equally attached to the support of their honour, and equally zealous on every subject in any degree connected with the maintenance of their dignity. By adopting a measure of self-denial on the subject of pensions, as far as respects members of the House of Commons, we establish a character in the nation which will procure us a greater degree of influence than we ever possessed—an influence the most extensive and operative, as founded on the solid basis of public confidence.

He then moved the House to resolve, "that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment, are a grievance to the nation, and demand redress."

Mr. BROWNLOW seconded the motion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—The honourable gentleman has stated the bad effects of the abuse of the power in the crown to grant pensions, and which, if the abuse was admitted, nobody could deny; but reasoning as he has done, he has drawn a deduction that the present administration have abused this power—a deduction by no means warranted by any fact.—Sir, the accounts of the last year passed through the committee of accounts without any animadversion, and the committee of supply provided for the current year without demur. If the former year's expence had been deemed too great, the committee was the place

to reduce it; if it was not, I cannot think that the addition which has since been made, warrants the present resolution.

A gentleman has spoke much of corruption. Has any part of the conduct of this parliament justified such discourse? Has the conduct of administration justified it? If not, it is unwarrantable. The government which has been charged by the honourable gentleman has granted the increase of the pension list almost wholly at the desire of parliament; they have given nothing to absentees; have brought no followers, no relations of their own to quarter upon us, but with a princely liberality spend their own money here, while whatever favour they have bestowed is almost all at the desire of parliament, and where no man can say it has been misapplied.

It is said 7500*l.* has this year been added to the list: Of that sum 3000*l.* was for the noble peer who formerly, with so much honour to himself and advantage to the public, filled that chair; a considerable portion of the remainder is for the support of the ancient and illustrious noble families of this country, whose dignity the nation cannot suffer to sink without a loss of her own. In a word, the rest is so very inconsiderable that it cannot warrant the severity of the honourable gentleman's motion; I shall therefore vote against it.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—The honourable member who made the motion has used arguments that are unanswerable, otherwise the ability of the right honourable gentleman who spoke last would have surely given him an answer. I allow it is necessary to provide for the honourable support of government, but economy is also necessary, and every head of expence should be strictly attended to. Economy was earnestly recommended to the British parliament in the speech from the throne, and I believe the minister of England is sincere in his professions of a desire to husband and manage the resources of his country; why a different conduct should be followed here I cannot account for, but by supposing that the controul of England over us being abolished, she seeks again the subjection of this kingdom in a more invidious way, by reducing us to poverty, well knowing that poverty produces dependence.

Though taxes are felt by all ranks, yet the people pay cheerfully what is obviously for their benefit; but when the public treasure is lavished, no wonder that taxes are paid with discontent. Formerly a redress of grievances used to precede the supplies, but now the application of the supply is to prevent grievances from being redressed.

I am ready to allow that there ought to be a power in the crown to reward merit. Where persons have long continued to render services to the state, they ought to retire with honour and

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with competence. I grant also that the ancient illustrious nobility of the country should not be suffered to fall from their dignity, through the mere decline of fortune, where their own conduct is virtuous and honourable; but when pensions are lavished, I am unwilling to say on whom—

My honourable friend has stated to the House the resolution of 1757; if he had not, I should have mentioned it, being one of the few members that have continued in parliament from that time to the present period.

Though we pay the pensions, they are granted for the service of Great Britain: Their policy is to keep us poor, and apply the spoils of this country to their own advantage. The missionaries of England take special care that economy shall never be introduced amongst us. The word is never heard from them but when some work for the benefit of this kingdom is to be undertaken, or some of our manufactures are to be encouraged; then, and then only, we hear of economy.

For my own part I am totally independent of ministers and of party—I have no object in view but the welfare of the country, and therefore I vote in support of the motion.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE spoke against the resolution. His argument was pointed to prove the unreasonableness of imputing to the present government any extravagance in the small increase which they had made in the pension list. He reminded the House that the mark of national gratitude and affection which had been bestowed on the family of the revered Burgh was at the desire of that House—a small sacrifice, indeed, made at the tomb of a deceased patriot.—He reminded the House also that it was under their authority 3000*l.* pension was given to the late Speaker, who had so well earned that tribute of a nation's esteem. He called to their recollection, that with their approbation and consent a pension had been granted to bring home an officer of great importance to the kingdom; and after all the pension list, he said, in forty years had but doubled, while the hereditary revenue had multiplied ten fold. In that list was to be seen a considerable sum payable to the royal family, 2000*l.* a year to Lord Rodney, and in general the pensions were unexceptionable, though some small ones might have been granted by ministers on unfounded claims; but he desired to know, if within a few years that House had granted no considerable sums improperly?—Had that House made no misapplication of public money? That it had it could not be denied; but there was no censure due for such mistakes; it was the nature of man to be sometimes mistaken.

As to what had been said of general extravagance, he should give but one answer, and that was, that the expenditure of 1785 was less than 1784 by 45,000*l.* and if parliamentary grants had not

been made to the amount of 130,000*l.* it would have been by that sum still lower.

An honourable gentleman, said he, has spoke of an intention of reviving what he calls that pernicious measure, the commercial adjustment. I do not think it a pernicious measure, though I never said it would be revived. I spoke of its resurrection on surmise—I expressed a pious wish that there might come a general call, and I said I believed it would find favour if ever a day of judgment should come in this House.

Mr. HARDY said that the mode of reasoning adopted by the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was exceedingly curious and original: He had not attempted in the slightest degree to meet the general principle contained in the motion; he had on the contrary admitted it in its fullest extent; he admitted that there was a great abuse in the pension list, but that notwithstanding that abuse, he would vote against the motion, because it went to criminate the present administration. So that although this administration had contributed to the increase of the pension list, yet as they were not so criminal as their predecessors, they were therefore entitled to the applause of the country. Such was the defence set up by the right honourable gentleman, and such was his opposition to the motion. Another gentleman [Sir Hercules Langrishe] had said that it was improper to adopt such a resolution at the present, without some previous enquiry—without some previous acknowledgment of the fact, that the application of the pension list had been in many instances improper—as if any investigation was necessary to prove what every one admitted to be true—that the pension list here amounted to five thousand pounds a year more than the pension list in England, and that to bestow pensions on members of the House of Commons during pleasure, was not consistent with the genius of the spirit of the constitution.—Another right honourable gentleman had exclaimed against the motion, as tending to distress the crown and deprive it of the power of rewarding some very respectable and deserving objects. This was indeed very splendid and specious talking, and to those who were ignorant and chose to continue so, it was certainly a very imposing language. But who wished to deprive the crown of the means of rewarding a faithful subject? Lord Rodney, and that excellent character, the late Chief Baron Burgh, had been mentioned, as if the motion in the most remote degree glanced either at the one or the other. The object and tendency of such talking, for argument it was not, was too palpable, too obvious to be mistaken, and the grossness of such artifice rendered any comment unnecessary. To deprive the minister of the means of rewarding some of his faithful servants was indeed to be wished, but to wage war with the generosity of the crown, to oppose

injurious and sullen parsimony to acknowledged public services, to institute a peevish and indelicate enquiry into the circumstances and situation of those who had perhaps known better days, who had no seat in parliament, nor ever aspired to one, and who were as innocent, as innoxious with regard to the calamities of their country as they could possibly be; it was not to such objects the present motion by any means looked to. He dwelt upon this for some time, and said, that neither he or his honourable friend could be so far duped by any affected display of a superior regard for the rights of the crown, as to confound the deserving with the undeserving; a pension which had been nobly earned perhaps, and which the crown had nobly bestowed, with a pension which importunate uniform servility had extorted from the minister, and which the voice of the people was equally uniform in its reprobation of. He then took a cursory view of the pension list, and said, that though in general he totally disapproved it, yet there were some few pensions which met his entire concurrence: He took notice of the pension granted to Lord Perry, and after having paid him many compliments, and done justice to the manner in which that pension was obtained, he touched on that which was given to Lord Westmeath, of whom he spoke in terms of high respect, and said, that with regard to his pension, as well as the former, he had only to lament the uncertainty of their tenures, for they were both during pleasure. He then came to the pension granted to Lord Kinsale—a pension, he said, so moderate, and given as it was, to a descendant of one of the first houses in Europe, it was utterly impossible for him not to give his most unqualified assent to; and after having dwelt on the propriety, the delicacy, the justice of placing the ancient and noble families of this country, who from a variety of circumstances, not by their own misconduct, were sinking into decay, in an honourable independence of the crown, he concluded this part of his speech with observing, that no country should pay so generous an attention to its ancient nobility as Ireland, for if the peerage continued to encrease as it had for some time past, Ireland would be apt totally to forget its few old peers in its admiration of its new ones. But as to members of the House of Commons having pensions during pleasure, he said, he would in every situation protest against it; such an application of the public money was scandalous, and in every respect utterly and completely unwarrantable.

He then, as he said, to shew the totally different sentiments that prevailed in Ireland and England, with regard to the granting of public money in pensions, entered into an account of the pension of 3000*l.* a year granted to the late Lord Chatham, and after having enlarged on the brilliancy of his services, as a great statesman and incorrupt senator, he said, that it was by no means un-

common in Ireland to give, not perhaps 3000*l.* but a considerable part of that sum to a member of parliament, in every respect the reverse of Lord Chatham—to a member whose sole and promulgated object in going into parliament at all was, without any regard, not to the constitution merely (for such a term had to him no meaning whatsoever) but without even that decent regard to his own name now and hereafter, which every man owes to himself, to resign to the minister on the best terms, and with as much celerity as he possibly could, his uniform, tranquil, stupid vote, to be given at all times and at all seasons, on a question of the utmost indifference, or of the utmost importance to his country. Or if the pension did not arise from such wretched compliances, it arose perhaps from some supposed sufferings, or some services overpaid with six or seven hundred a year, but which the lying spirit of jobbing in Ireland would blazon as scarcely recompensed with double that sum. These were grievances, he said, of which Ireland had indeed just reason to complain; it was this profligate wicked waste of the public money which created such astonishment in the minds of people at the other side of the water, whenever Irish affairs were the subject of their conversation, nor did they (and with perfect justice in his opinion) so much find fault with any person in the right honourable Secretary's situation for granting such pensions, as they condemned the gentlemen of Ireland for their culpable, unaccountable acquiescence in such enormous additions to the public burdens. But such grievances were to be tolerated, certainly not to be remedied, whilst affairs were conducted in the manner they were; or to express himself with more precision, whilst many of the representatives of the people acted in every instance of this nature, as if they were conducting, not the affairs of a great kingdom, but a paltry province, never permitting a question of that sort to be met fairly on its principle, but suffering local personal regards, their mere private affections, to steal their attention from a just consideration of it. The amiable qualities of the nation, its tenderness, good nature and generosity fought against it on such questions as these; and whilst one gentleman, acting certainly for his friend, but in direct hostility to the country, takes another aside, and says to him, "you cannot think of voting for such a question, you must not think of it, if you do, you may be the means of ruining my best friend, or such a person's best friend;" whilst such language is addressed to one's feelings, it might indeed disarm the patriotism of an individual, but at the same time it eventually disarmed the public. He urged this point particularly, and having expatiated for some time on the limited politics, the paltry and unconstitutional system of suffering private regards totally to overwhelm every public consideration in this country, he observed, that if the distinction between those who were bribed, and those who

were pensioned was just, and he thought it was, namely, that those who took a bribe (as it was given for a particular job) were day-labourers, and pensioners (for a pension was a continued bribe) were domestic servants, he must consider the gentlemen in that House who were pensioners for years, and who were in fact the domestic servants of the minister, as being in a situation exactly the reverse of all other servants in the world, for they never were discharged except for their good behaviour. He then appealed to the generosity of the House, whether it would be proper to countenance any minister in such a derision of all public virtue? Whether they would suffer a man who had perhaps deserved well of the public, and who wished to be of some permanent utility to the community, to live a precarious dependant on the minister; and having painted the feelings which might be supposed to arise in the breast of such a man, where his principles led him on such a question as this to take one path, and his dread of offending the minister might lead him to take another, of his being in fact the Argus of his own mind, repelling and perhaps with reluctance, repelling every public-spirited feeling which belonged to his nature, least some casual, some momentary, some obnoxious deviation from habitual servility should subject him to the frown of the minister, and plunge him into poverty and distress: He asked if it was any diminution of the royal prerogative to rescue such a man from such a state? Was it according with the benignity of the royal mind to suffer an honourable man to draw a precarious subsistence, at the mercy of those who had, perhaps, no honour? If a man deserved well of the public, if he merited either the national or the royal bounty, in whatever stream that bounty flowed to him, whether a contracted or an ample one, let it only be fixed and permanent. If he was a deserving object, why should not he be made easy for life? If he was not a deserving object, why should he be placed on the pension list at all? In one word, let gentlemen attend to the plain language of the constitution; and what was that? That pensions during pleasure, and paid by the crown to members of that House, were perfectly consistent with that real freedom which members of parliament should at all times exercise in the discussion of great national questions! No man, however ignorant, however servile, could in the face of parliament maintain such a monstrous absurdity and falsehood. The resolution moved for, was in fact a self-evident proposition, and he was ashamed of having dwelt on it so long.

Mr. MASON said that he should take up the time of the House with only a single observation on the subject; that he had then in his hand the list of pensions, printed by order of the House, which specified the amount of pensions in every year, from the year 1726 to the first of the present month; that he had examined this account with the utmost attention, but could discern no circum-

stance that should call upon the House to express their disapprobation of the present amount of pensions, in so strong a resolution.—He said that the gentleman who moved it had stated to the House a comparison between the present amount of pensions and the amount of pensions in the year 1757; but as the circumstances of this country were totally changed within that interval of nine-and-twenty years, he did not think that a very just comparison could be drawn between two periods so distant from each other, and should therefore beg leave to submit to the House a comparative state of the amount of pensions at the present time, and at a period less remote, the year 1777, when, to the best of his recollection, there was a very interesting debate on that subject.

He stated, that in the year 1777 the pensions amounted to 88,245*l.* that the present amount of pensions was 95,883*l.* and the increase in these nine years was 7,638*l.* A very considerable increase he should acknowledge, if the whole of it were to be placed to the account of government; but he asserted that three parts in the four of this increase were occasioned, not by the profusion of government, but the liberality of parliament. That 3000*l.* a year had been granted, in consequence of the address of the House, to the noble peer who with so much honour to himself, and such advantage to the public, had lately presided in the chair—that a pension of 2000*l.* a year had been granted in consequence of the address of the House, to the family of one of the most able and amiable men that had ever adorned this country, the late Lord Chief Baron Burgh; and that a third pension of 800*l.* a year, had been granted in consequence of a similar address, to two very respectable gentlemen, the Messrs. Gamble, and their sister, Mrs. Norman, making in the whole 5,800*l.* so that of the whole increase of pensions in the last nine years, there remained but the sum of 1,800*l.* which could possibly be placed to the account of government.—But he begged leave to remind the House of another pension of 2,500*l.* a year, which was granted for the purpose of bringing back to this kingdom the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; which, though not granted on an actual address of the House, was granted in consequence of their declared desire and general approbation; and if this was added to the list he had mentioned, it would appear that instead of an increase of 1800*l.* there was a decrease of 700*l.* in the last nine years in the amount of the pensions which could be placed to the account of government only. As this was the case, he considered this resolution, which reprobated the present amount of pensions, as improper and unjust, and he should therefore oppose it.

Mr. CONOLLY spoke in favour of the resolution, and introduced several strictures respecting the conduct of the present administration and the taxes; in the first, he said he had no confidence; and as to the latter, especially the 140,000*l.* they were a rake-

in; one tax, however, he pledged himself to the House, he would next session move a partial repeal of, which was the tax upon hearths in those poor dwellings that had but one.

Serjeant FITZGERALD said he was against the motion, as too late for any redress to ensue; if any redress was necessary, it should have been moved in the committee of accounts, as in that stage of the supply there was an instance where a pension was not provided for.

Mr. GRATTAN rose, and desired the pension list might be read (which was done from the very beginning). He then said, I shall not make any other observation on what has passed than this—when gentlemen seriously affirm that pensions are not a grievance, and a wanton dissipation of the public money, I will meet them with this list. As to argument, nothing can be said in addition to what my honourable friend has urged, nor has any thing been said against it; and my reason for not giving a negative to his motion is, that should I affirm the pension list is not a grievance, I should affirm in the face of my country an impudent, insolent, and a public lie.

The question being put on the motion, there appeared,

Ayes, — 70 — Noes, — 128

Mr. FORBES gave notice that he should to-morrow move a resolution relative to the application of the public revenue.

Mr. MASON declared if the honourable gentleman should bring forward to-morrow a motion of that kind, he should certainly call for the order of the day.

Mr. FORBES.—The right honourable gentleman says, that if I bring forward to-morrow the motion I have mentioned, that he will call for the order of the day: Now, I ask the right honourable gentleman if I bring it on on Thursday or Friday next, will he then call for the order of the day, or use some other manœuvre to get rid of it?

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1786.

A petition of the merchants and traders of the town of Galway, in behalf of themselves and several others concerned in the fishery of the port and district of the said town, and the north west fishery of Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners at a very considerable expence have built and purchased upwards of twenty vessels, which have been employed in the proper season on this coast and the north west fishery of this

kingdom, which gave employment to a great number of hands who might otherwise languish in idleness, or emigrate to foreign nations, whereby not only their families would have suffered, but his Majesty's navy in time of war may lose a number of useful seamen; that in the port and district of Galway, exclusive of the number of vessels so employed by the petitioners, there are upwards of five hundred boats employed in the season for the fishery, and in each boat there are not less than five men, which make in the whole two thousand five hundred men, and also some hundreds of women are employed in spinning hemp, and making nets, &c.; that since the commencement of the encouragement granted by the House for the fisheries of Ireland, the petitioners have not reimbursed themselves near half the expence they have been at, but from their future expectations, and the patronage of the House, they hope not only to be reimbursed their advance, but that the same will turn out to the greatest advantage, not only to his Majesty's navy, by the great number of able seamen that will be brought up to a knowledge of their profession, but to the poor abject peasantry, who will and have hitherto been amply supplied with the herrings caught on this and the north west coast of Ireland, being a principal part of their food in the year; that the petitioners have lately discovered a deficiency in the depth of the nets used in the herring fishery, and have gone to great expence preparative to making new nets for the ensuing season; that the petitioners were informed that a petition from the cities of Cork and Waterford were laid before the House, to take off the greater part of the duty laid on foreign herrings, for the reason offered by them in their said petition, merely to aggrandize themselves, without any regard to the interest of the kingdom in general, who should be obliged to drop the Irish fishery if the prayer of their petition was granted; that the merchants of Cork and Waterford having great weight and influence in England have engrossed to themselves in the time of war the supplying the greater part of the navy of England with provisions, and all our West-India islands; and as a great part of the provisions intended for the latter are herrings, they would rather encourage foreign herrings than those of our own country, although the herrings taken on this and the north west coast of Ireland are far superior in quality to those of foreign parts, and fully sufficient to supply our great home consumption and the West India islands; that the petitioners were informed that a particular bill will be brought into parliament this session for the further regulation of the fisheries of this kingdom, and they most humbly submit to the consideration of the House whether the port and district of Galway, remarkable time immemorial for its fishery, and the great number of hands employed therein, is entitled to the protection and encouragement of parliament; and therefore praying the House to take their case into consideration, in which

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the kingdom is concerned, Cork and Waterford only excepted, in continuing the duty already laid on foreign herrings, which will not only answer the original intention of encouraging the Irish fishery, but will eminently serve the poor.

At three o'clock the House resolved itself into a committee on the paving bill, Sir Richard Johnston in the chair.

Mr. WARDEN FLOOD moved that the town clerk of the corporation of the city of Dublin, do attend the House to-morrow at two o'clock.

He said his motive for requiring the attendance of that officer was, that a difference of opinion seemed to prevail with gentlemen in respect to a clause in the paving bill, requiring persons living on the quays to repair the walls before their houses; and he wanted to be satisfied what was the custom in such cases hitherto.

The committee sat until nine o'clock, but there was no material debate.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1786.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) presented a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the protection and improvement of the inland fisheries of this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER presented a bill for the encouragement of the fisheries on the coasts of the county of Donegal, and for granting the sum of 10,000*l.* to promote the same; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the merchants who have been nominated a council by a numerous body of traders, associated under the title of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Dublin, signed by their vice-presidents, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners beg leave humbly to solicit the attention of this honourable House to the heavy depression now subsisting on the corn export trade of Ireland, which trade is confessedly a primary source of the nation's wealth and power; that this depression the petitioners humbly represent to be the denying to Dublin the bounties granted to the rest of the kingdom on the exportation of corn, which, as it appears from the returns now before the House, operates almost to an entire exclusion of Dublin from the corn export trade; that the petitioners having viewed the solicitude with which for a series of years parliament has endeavour-

ed to further the agriculture and corn export of the kingdom, cannot but observe with surprize that so direct a counteraction of the unwearyed efforts of the legislature should be suffered as the discouraging the export of corn from that part the most peculiarly adapted for its extension; that besides the preventing a considerable increase of the general export to which this discouragement so manifestly tends, the petitioners humbly state it to have been frequently productive of dearth and scarcity to the metropolis, by rendering its market unsteady and its supply precarious, consequences inevitable where that export is virtually forbid which would take off the casual redundancies obviously necessary to insure a sufficiency for the consumption; that the petitioners with earnestness implore the attention of the House to the important subject they have thus presumed to lay before them, humbly praying it to grant to Dublin the bounties on the exportation of corn, meal, malt and flour, which the other parts of the kingdom enjoy, an act of justice due to the metropolis, an act of policy due to the nation.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE moved that it be an instruction to the committee on the revenue bill, to receive a clause to empower the owners of commodities, sent to this city by the grand canal, to dispose of and sell the same on the banks thereof.

Lord LUTTRELL opposed the motion on its evidently striking at the chartered rights of the city of Dublin, and giving an admission to the practice of many frauds; for, said he, all commodities of grain and other provisions are brought to the market-houses and other places properly regulated, and all fraudulent practices prevented; but this is opening a door to unlicensed practices, and trenching on the immunities of the corporation of Dublin.

Alderman WARREN opposed the motion on the very same principle. He said that it struck at the chartered rights of the city, and gave an encouragement to forestalling.

Mr. WOLFE mentioned the additional expences the owners of commodities were put to after coming to the harbour of the canal, by having their goods sent to the city markets. It was for the general benefit of the city that provisions should be sold without additional expence, and the clause held out the most obvious benefits.

The House having divided on the motion, the numbers appeared,

For the motion, — 76 — Against it, — 16

Mr. WOLFE moved for leave to bring in a bill for making a navigable cut from the canal to the town of Naas.

Mr. GRIFFITH opposed the motion, as an encroachment on the chartered rights of the grand canal corporation, and called on the

Secretary not to suffer such an attack on rights chartered by parliament.

Mr. ORDE said he thought himself called upon to answer.— There was a difference between a charter from the crown and a charter granted by parliament. The present motion he conceived to be for an amendment of an act of parliament, therefore he would not oppose its admission, as full time might be allowed.

Mr. GRIFFITH contended that the charter of parliament was of much greater consequence than that of the crown.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said that the water of the canal was the property of another corporate body, and that right should not be trespassed upon. He wished for postponing the question to some other time, as it required consideration.

The motion being put, it was carried without a division.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) informed the House that on account of a misfortune which occurred in the family of the right honourable gentleman who had presented the Dublin turnpike bill [the death of Mr. Gardiner's eldest daughter] he could with the consideration of that bill was postponed until Tuesday next.

Lord DELVIN presented a bill for continuing and amending the several laws relating to the turnpike road leading from Dublin to Mullingar, and for more effectually enabling the trustees thereof to widen the narrow parts leading from Chapelizod to Dublin, on the north and south sides of the river Liffey; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the persons, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants of the county of Wexford, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that a large proportion of the provisions consumed by the citizens of Dublin is supplied by the said county; that should any tax be laid upon the intercourse between the said county and the city of Dublin, the petitioners must be compelled either to raise the price of their provisions, or to seek for another market; that the petitioners are informed a bill is now before parliament to erect turnpikes on the roads leading to Dublin, which they apprehend would prove a most grievous and oppressive tax; and therefore praying relief.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY moved that a clause be inserted in the revenue bill to compel all boats in harbour, carrying more than six oars on a side, to take out license.

After some conversation, explaining the motion to be intended only against those smuggling boats called grey-hounds, the motion passed.

Mr. MASON moved that a clause be inserted in the revenue bill, for obliging an account to be given of all estreats of recognizances in the city of Corke.

Mr. HARTLEY moved that the petition of the term grand jury, against the use of spiritous liquors, be referred to the committee on the revenue bill.

He also moved that the said committee be empowered to receive a clause to prevent the sale of spiritous liquors in small quantities.

The House went into a committee on the revenue bill, Mr. George Posenby in the chair.

Mr. STEWART (of Killymoon) observed that the revenue bill of last year contained a principle that had been universally reprobated by the country gentlemen of Ireland, that of compelling grand juries to find presentments for fines on town lands, &c. &c. where clandestine stills should be discovered; which compulsion was enforced by the penal consequence of their refusal to present, viz. that the judges should be disabled to fiat any of their other presentments, whereby the roads and other public works of the counties would run to ruin. He would, he said, submit it to the consideration of the gentlemen concerned for the revenue, whether it was a wise measure to insult the principal men in the country, or whether the countenance and support of those men would not forward the collection of the revenue more than any penal statute whatsoever. To him it appeared that the principle of the clause materially affected the constitutional rights of grand juries, who were by it deprived of the exercise of their judgment, though acting under the influence of a solemn oath. He assured gentlemen that if this part of the clause was not altered, the whole would prove inoperative.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—If I was to make laws for the honourable gentleman, and the gentlemen who sit around him, I should think there was little occasion for that strictness which happens to be necessary with the persons who do not act as fairly and candidly as they; but as there are persons who must be forced to do right, such a clause as that to which the honourable gentleman objects is necessary. As a proof of this I shall only mention a poor wretched creature, a soldier, crippled for life, the tendons of his leg cut through to the very bone, and yet a grand jury was found to refuse a presentment for him, which presentment the law warranted them to make.

It has been objected to the clause, that men's consciences should not be forced, and that grand juries cannot be brought to think themselves authorized to make presentments without examining into the subject, and deciding upon evidence: Now, Sir, if I have

any notion of a grand juryman's oath, it is that he shall leave nothing unrepresented which is presentable. The law of the land makes the fines upon town lands, for clandestine stills, presentable matters, and how any one acting under a grand juror's oath can discharge his conscience of the obligation, is more than I am able to understand.

It is said this clause is an infringement on the constitutional rights of grand juries to levy money upon the subject. That grand juries have any such right, by the constitution, I utterly deny—they derive that power from the statute law, and the same law requires them to make the presentments now in question.

The former great objection to the clause was, that the private distiller and revenue officer might by collusion extort fines from the county for their own emolument; that objection is now done away; the fine is reduced to ten pounds; of this one half goes to the county infirmary, the remaining five pounds is all that is to be divided between the revenue officer and distiller—fifty shillings each, for which the distiller runs the risque of being sued by civil bill, by any man in the town land, for ten pounds, and the certificate of the presentment being allowed as evidence against him, he is liable to a fine of twenty pounds. It is not therefore to be supposed that any man will risque thirty pounds to gain fifty shillings.

But the grand juries are not, it is said, to examine evidence. It is an established principle that they cannot in any case examine evidence against the crown, therefore the present case is no innovation.

Something was said in a former debate of judges setting themselves against this clause. I will not suppose that any judge would presume to say that an act of the legislature should not be executed. If I knew of any such judge, I would move this House to address his Majesty to remove him from the bench, as a disgrace to it; and if I should find any judge, who by trick should evade the intentions of the laws, I should deem him even more criminal than the other, and address to have him removed and punished; for I do not know any thing so dangerous to the constitution, to the rights of the subject, and to the rights of the crown, as a judge setting up his own whim or caprice against the law of the land, and under the notion of doing substantial justice, substituting his own opinion for the acts of the legislature.

Every man who hears me will allow the evil done by private stills; I trust every man who hears me would wish to remedy that evil. I would do as much as possible to reconcile the country gentlemen to the clause, and there are none amongst them that I more wish to reconcile than the gentlemen who came from the same part of the country with my honourable friend who made the objection. I wish to reconcile it to their feelings, because I know

they have the interest of the people at heart, and because I would hope for their assistance in giving effect and operation to the law.

Mr. BERESFORD entered into a full explanation of the nature and tendency of the clause, which he contended was no infringement or innovation on the rights of grand juries. He said he would avoid repeating what had already appeared as urged by him in a former debate on this subject, but would just call to the recollection of gentlemen the several acts of parliament he had then quoted, viz. the robbery act of King William—the Sch. Anne—17th George II.—5th, 23d and 25th George III.—some of which, in the very words of the present clause, direct grand juries how they are to find, and all of which are compulsory on them.—He said he was as averse as any member of that House to irritating country gentlemen, or any other men; his object was merely to stop the private distillation, and if he could find any other method as effectual as that under consideration, he was ready to adopt it with pleasure. For this purpose he had repeatedly called upon gentlemen to point him out a method, but without any being proposed. If then the members of that House had not pleased to come forward to give him any assistance, he hoped it would not be deemed presumption in him, and the gentlemen of the board to which he belonged, to endeavour in the best manner they were able to discharge their duty.—At first the power of presenting was vested in the grand jury, without any compulsory clause to oblige them; they had almost generally neglected to make presentments; the compulsory was adopted, and now that mode was complained of as a violation of the rights of grand jurors.

Gentlemen, said he, are not apprised of the enormous frauds committed on the revenue. I have an account delivered in by the malsters themselves, who cannot be suspected of overcharging themselves, of all the malt made in this kingdom in one year, and it amounts to 1,400,000 barrels. Now if this was to be reduced into spirits (the difference between spirits and ale is but little as to duty) it would produce an excise of 525,878l. sterling, whereas the present excise on ale and spirits is 164,545l. so that there is an actual defalcation of 361,333l. sterling.

Now I beg gentlemen will consider their own interest, and the interest of the country—that they will consider the dreadful effects of this pernicious article, whiskey (of which I wish there was not one gallon made in the kingdom, though some gentlemen think I endeavour to promote it for the sake of revenue); they would see how much better able the people would be to pay necessary taxes if this bane of industry was abolished, and therefore they will agree, that every vigilance to prevent the spreading of the evil, and to confine it as much as possible to the licensed distiller, is necessary; for if that could once be accomplished, it would

be easy to render it unattainable by the lower class, who are the greatest sufferers by it.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said the right honourable member had, with a degree of candour that did him infinite honour, declared that he was desirous of receiving assistance from country gentlemen; he would therefore propose to him, if country gentlemen would declare solemnly upon their honour, in the face of that House, and fairly pledge themselves that they would use their utmost influence in their different counties to discourage private distilling, and to induce grand juries, upon reasonable proofs, to make the presentments for fines on town lands, &c. would he consent to withdraw the obnoxious part of the clause.

Mr. BROWNLOW proposed the trial of the law for one year, without coercion.

Mr. BERESFORD declared that in his mind the hearty and sincere support of gentlemen would be more advantageous to the revenue than any compulsory clause whatsoever, and that he was ready to meet the gentlemen on the ground proposed.

After some further conversation, it was agreed to adjourn the further consideration of the subject till to-morrow, in order to give Mr. Beresford an opportunity of new-modelling the clause.

THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1786.

Mr. HEWIT moved that Mr. Brooke do lay before the House an account, upon his own oath, of the number of pieces, and amount of all goods he sold of his own manufacture, from the 1st of March, 1785, to the 1st of March, 1786, specifying to whom sold, at which of his warehouses they were sold, and the dates.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL said he never heard of such a motion as to compel a private trader to deliver, on oath, an account of his trade; he even doubted the jurisdiction of the House in such a case; at all events it must be allowed a measure of great delicacy, which should not be moved when it could be avoided. The person in question had already answered before a committee, and if their report was unsatisfactory, let it be recommitted, and let him be examined again.

Mr. ANNESLEY.—Certainly the motion would be improper if the gentleman was not a suitor to this House for aid, and if he had not already in this session stated his accounts to the House; nay, if he had not already received most unprecedented aids from parliament; but surely these circumstances put him on a different footing from other private traders. However I would rather have

the committee opened again; there are some persons that I wish to re-examine, particularly a Mr. Kirchoffer, because I think I shall be able to shew that the cotton manufacture is carried on at Belfast much more extensively than ever it was at Prosperous. Nay further, I think I shall be able to prove, let what will happen to Mr. Brooke, the northern manufacture may be maintained.

The motion was carried.

And it was ordered that Mr. Brooke do attend at the bar to-morrow.

And that Mr. Kirchoffer do attend at the bar to-morrow.

The House agreed to ballot for trustees to dispose of 20,000*l.* for the encouragement of manufactures of woollen, cotton, &c. to-morrow.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed that the trustees would have little trouble in the distribution, as the act of this session directs the money to be paid in bounties on goods sold.

The order of the day being called for, for going into a committee on the revenue bill,

Mr. FORBES said that on Monday last he had given notice that he should, on Tuesday, bring forward a motion, which had for its object a diminution of the public expence; but a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Macon] had said that if he would bring it on on that day, he should get rid of it by calling for the order of the day. He then mentioned that he should propose it this day, and he hoped that the House had now no objection to his bringing the motion forward.

Mr. BERESFORD.—If it was not necessary to pass the revenue bill before the assizes, in order that gentlemen in the country might be relieved from an inconvenience, I should not now press the order of the day, or give any interruption to the honourable gentleman in bringing forward his motion; but as it was last night agreed on all sides to accommodate the clause in the revenue bill respecting grand juries, and as I have now that clause in my hand, drawn in a manner that I trust will give general satisfaction, the honourable gentleman will excuse me in calling for the order of the day, especially as we will not take up an hour in the committee, and the business of the assizes presses closely upon us.

Mr. FORBES, after bestowing some compliments on the candid manner in which gentlemen acted, asked them if they would be ready to-morrow; which being agreed, he consented to put off his motion till to-morrow.

Mr. CORRY.—I do not agree in the praise that is bestowed upon the right honourable gentleman, for yesterday, if he had thought

proper, he might have gone through the bill. I hope the honourable gentleman will not consent to put off his motion till to-morrow; if he does he will damn it by the procrastination.—I do not say that is his intention, but I say that will be the effect of procrastination.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY.—I am astonished at the charge that is made. It was at the particular desire and request of the gentlemen on the other side that the right honourable gentleman agreed to withdraw the clause, in order to accommodate it against this day, and when he had agreed so to do, the gentlemen, in a manner that reflects infinite honour on themselves, declared that they would use their utmost interest in the country to suppress that bane to industry, the private distillation of spirits. I say, then, if there be any want of candour, it does not lie with us; it is not on this side of the House—it is obvious where it rests.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said to-morrow being appointed for entering on Mr. Brooke's business, if his honourable friend would put off his motion one day longer, it would not interfere with that important subject.

Mr. ORDE said some information relative to the subject of Mr. Brooke's business was daily expected from England, but from the present state of the wind there was little reason to suppose it would arrive time enough to be laid before the committee to-morrow; he therefore could see no objection to the House then entering into the discussion of Mr. Forbes's motion.

Mr. FORBES then said his motion did not depend on the winds—blow high, blow low, he would make his motion to-morrow.

The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the revenue bill.

Mr. BERESFORD proposed a clause, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. HARTLEY proposed a clause, stating the injury which the health and morals of the lower class received from the pernicious practice of dram-drinking, and prohibiting the sale of small quantities of spirits on Sundays.—The clause he hoped would go one step to remedy the abuse complained of, and at least prevent the profanation of the sabbath.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declared he had no objection to the clause, and hoped it would have the desired effect; he feared, however, that as the clergy were very tenacious of their rights, and unwilling that the laity should interfere, even to the promotion of morals and religion, the clause might possibly be objected to by a certain description of persons in another place, though they themselves would not move the evil complained of with one of their fingers.

Upon the Speaker's putting the question, that the report be now received,

Mr. GRIFFITH said—I intended to have said something respecting the East India trade upon receiving this report ; it is a subject which I wish should be debated in a full House, therefore with the report was put off till to-morrow ; a subject which has never undergone a fair discussion ; indeed the House has had no opportunity of understanding it clearly. It would be absurd in me to enter into it now, for I say again it should be brought forward in a full House ; it is a subject of more magnitude than we seem to think. It would be ungrateful in me to pass it over in silence, who have been so many years in the service of the East India Company, and have had opportunities of understanding it fully. I have no wish to promote any negotiation or misunderstanding between the two kingdoms—if there was any I should not hesitate on which side to determine.—An honourable friend of mine promised to bring forward this business, but as he seems to have neglected it, I pledge myself to propose some motions respecting it on a future day.

Mr. CORRY said he had considered this business for more than three years, yet he had made but little progress in it. It was, he observed, hard to rouse the attention of parliament upon any subject until the country grew clamorous. He would have brought forward this business earlier, had not he observed that other questions were postponed, because it was asserted that they delayed the public business of the country. He also thought that it was the duty of ministers—they had indeed (he now recollected) promised to bring it forward—it was a promise registered in deed, but falsified in fact.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that many gentlemen had gone away to consider several clauses in the revenue bill, prepossessed that the report would be received to-morrow.

Mr. CORRY said that there was one clause in particular which he thought intrenched on the royal prerogative, and ought to be well considered.

Mr. BERESFORD said he understood it as the opinion of gentlemen, that the bill should be passed before the assizes ; he therefore wished the report should be now received.

The report was then received, the bill was read a third time, and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) presented a bill for amending the several laws relative to the registering of freeholds ; which was received and read the first time.

It was ordered that the bill should be printed.

FRIDAY, MARCH 10, 1786.

A petition of the tanners of the county of Fermanagh, on behalf of themselves and all others the tanners and manufacturers of leather in Ireland, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this kingdom has of late years very greatly declined, and if not encouraged and protected by this honourable House, will be soon totally lost to this kingdom, whereby not only the petitioners and those concerned in that trade will be reduced to the necessity of quitting the same, but also many other useful and necessary branches of trade in which leather is worked up will be much injured, and the price of the many articles manufactured with leather be greatly increased; that the petitioners, with concern, see that the great exportation of our raw materials to all foreign countries, almost duty free, has greatly contributed to prevent the tanning and manufacture of leather in this kingdom, and has prevented the exportation of tanned leather from this country to foreign markets, insomuch that the exportation thereof has decreased three parts out of four during the last ten years compared with the ten years preceding; that the petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that the scarcity and dearth of oak bark in this kingdom is another cause of the great decline of their manufacture, the price whereof has very greatly increased these some years past, and prevented the petitioners from being able to procure a sufficient quantity thereof for the tanning of their raw materials, on such terms as to enable the petitioners and those of the tanning trade to manufacture their goods either for consumption at home, or to send them to foreign markets on equal terms with other countries; that the petitioners, from the scarcity and dearth of bark in the year 1785, were in great danger of being reduced to extreme difficulties and distress, and that had it not been for the coldness of the season the raw materials then on the petitioners hands would have perished, the petitioners not being able to procure, on any terms, oak bark for saving the same; that the petitioners apprehend that the tannage and manufacture of leather in this country may, under proper encouragement, become a branch of business of great consequence to Ireland in general, as well as to the petitioners, who have their entire substance therein, and spent their lives in the pursuit and improvement thereof; that the petitioners apprehend and believe that if an additional duty be laid upon the exportation of raw materials from this into foreign countries, and a bounty granted on the importation of oak bark into this kingdom from America, the East Country, Germany, or other parts of the Continent of Europe, from whence that article may be procured annually in any quantity, for the supply of Irish tannage, together with a bounty on the exportation of manufactured leather, will assist our export of tanned leather, enable us to manufacture our raw material, prevent

foreigners having a supply of that sort of leather fit for their use, make Ireland the mart for said goods, and necessitate foreigners to apply to us for our materials when manufactured, as the green commodity they bring from hence is by far superior to any they can supply themselves with from other markets; that the petitioners apprehend and believe they would be able to regain from foreign nations this branch of trade, if the House shall be pleased to take their case into consideration, and pass such laws for their relief as in their wisdom shall seem fit; and therefore praying relief.

The engrossed revenue bill was read a third time.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER proposed a clause, by way of rider, to vest in the crown the lands of Knockroe in the county of Waterford, formerly intended as the seat of the Genevese emigrants.

The clause was referred to a committee of the whole House, Mr. George Ponsonby in the chair.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he objected to that mode of introducing a clause of such importance, intirely new and unexpected, in the last stage of a bill, when it was not possible for the House to have time to consider it: He observed that it gave the crown the unlimited disposal of those lands, by enabling it to let them at any rent, however small; and he would therefore move an amendment, for limiting the crown to let them at the best improved rent.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I object to the proviso, as it implies an ill-founded suspicion that the crown, who is the trustee for the public, and accountable to this House, will abuse that trust. At the beginning of this session, I stated a balance of more than 30,000*l.* of money granted by parliament to establish the Genevese emigrants, and which is now brought to the public credit; the remainder has been expended on those lands, and it is with an intention that this expenditure may be made useful to the public, that the present clause is moved.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE desired to inform gentlemen that the lands in question belonged to the crown; that they were leased out; that falling again into the hands of the crown, an act passed to enable government to grant them to a corporation for establishing the Genevese; that the scheme for establishing the Genevese having failed, government only desired to be released from that specific appropriation, and left at liberty to apply those lands to some purpose beneficial to the country; and as to the idea of confining the crown, as a miser would his heir, to a certain valuation of rent, it was a little unjust, and equally unbecoming the crown and the dignity of the parliament—it was an idea unknown to our ancestors, and not to be found in any part of the statute book.

Mr. MICHAEL SMITH.—This rider is introduced so suddenly, and followed up so precipitately, that I cannot consent to it. If the crown has a right to dispose of those lands, there is no occasion for parliament to grant any new power; and if the crown has not a right, it should be well considered before any such right is granted.

Mr. ORDE.—I am surprised that there should be a moment's hesitation on this business. The clause is certainly intended to give the crown a power it has not now, but that is obviously for the advantage of the country.—The crown is at present limited to grant those lands to a corporation—a corporation, whose object is at an end. The power to grant them to individuals is now desired, and individuals might possibly propose something as advantageous to the public as even a rack rent. Suppose individuals were to lay out sums of money on them for any great national purpose—I know of no such intention; but suppose it might exist, would not this be more useful to the nation than a little rent? At all events, the power may be safely lodged with the crown, who will be doubly bound to exercise it to the public benefit, as trustee for the nation, and because part of the public money has been expended on these grounds.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE supported the proviso. He said gentlemen on the treasury bench had denied any responsibility for the actions of government; he was therefore very unwilling to trust a Secretary, who might soon be called from amongst us, with a power of disposing of a valuable tract of land, which he might canton out as rewards to his faithful adherents.

Mr. ORDE said he would not be so foolish, on his own mere opinion, to propose the extending of his Majesty's power to dispose of the lands in question; he was speaking the sense of those who were the true friends of the kingdom, and of his Majesty's government. All he desired was, that the crown might have an option to dispose of the lands to corporations or individuals, as might seem best for the public benefit. Perhaps the mode pointed out in the proviso might be the mode adopted; but he did not chuse to have government tied to it. As to the suspicion which had been insinuated against government, he could only say, and the House could bear witness, that no action of theirs had deserved it.

Mr. CONOLLY.—The grounds now in dispute were originally granted to the corporation for settling the Genevese, to establish a watch manufactory; I thought then, and I think now, that there are many meritorious Irishmen who are as well deserving of encouragement as any foreigners whatsoever. There are many manufacturers in Dublin that would willingly emigrate to the county of Waterford, where they might have a pleasant and wholesome situation.—This I think government ought to consider

Mr. ORDE.—I rise in consequence of what has fallen from the right honourable gentleman. There cannot be a stronger reason than that which he has urged, for passing the clause now before the committee, and rejecting the proviso. As to the conduct of government, of which an honourable gentleman has suggested a distrust, I call upon any gentleman to say, whether it has not been uniformly to promote the manufactures of this country. By the clause, the subject of disposing of those lands will be left open to proposals and applications of all sorts. Indeed there has been one already from Captain Brooke, for those lands and a large grant of money, to carry on a manufacture infinitely more extended than that at Prosperous; but as government are trustees for the public, and accountable to parliament for the disposal they may make of those lands, they will no doubt discharge their duty in such a manner as may fairly be submitted to the inspection of the public eye.

The **SECRETARY OF STATE** said that as the crown was the royal trustee for the disposal of the public property to the best advantage, it would be wrong to limit the power of the crown in the present case, as no one could foresee what might be proposed.

Mr. STEWART (of Killymoon) desired to know why this clause should be inserted in the revenue bill?

The **CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.**—Because it concerns a part of his Majesty's revenue; and as several proposals have been made for those lands, I thought it my duty to make them fructify to the public benefit as speedily as possible. If I did not think the measure for the advantage of the nation, I assure gentlemen I would not be the person to introduce it.

The question was then put on the proviso, which was negatived without a division. The clause was then carried, reported, read a third time, engrossed, and passed with the revenue bill, which was sent by Mr. Ponsonby to the Lords.

Mr. FORBES.—Since I gave notice of my intention to make a motion this day relative to pensions, a right honourable friend has shewn me a statement of some facts which he wishes to submit to the House, and which, as I think them a very good foundation for my motion, I would wish to precede it; I will therefore give way to my right honourable friend in this business.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I am always very unwilling to intrude on the House, especially when it is to take the place of my honourable friend. There is indeed but little room to hope, after the treatment his motion received on Monday, that any proposition tending to censure the excess or misapplication of pensions, shall be well received. We on this side of the House looked on them as a grievance that ought to be redressed, but a great majority has taught us, by their decision, that so far from being a waste or im-

proper dissipation of the public revenue, it is a very salutary and proper application of it. It will indeed be hard to undeceive us or the public on that head; and I will do the gentlemen on the other side the House the justice to say, that I believe their conduct that night was influenced more by their complaisance than their judgment.

It is impossible there should be two opinions on such a subject. Every man that I have ever heard speak on the outside of these walls, condemns the measure. I must acknowledge the minister treated his friends very hardly, he did not condescend to say a single word to vindicate their conduct; not an argument was made use of to oppose the motion. We were told that our complaint was not ill-founded, but that it ought to have been made sooner; if we had intended to enter into the merits of the persons who possessed the pensions, in order to deprive them of their pittance, the committees of accounts and supply would have been the proper place; but we had no such object; we only wished to prevent the encrease, and the time we chose was fitter, as a great addition had been made to the list after those committees had made their report.

All I wish now is to lay before you certain plain facts stated in resolutions, that they may appear on our journals. I shall state the amount of the pensions in 1757, which, though one half less than at present, was severely and unanimously reprobated by the House of Commons. I shall shew you that instead of a debt of above two millions that we are now oppressed with, there was near 250,000*l.* in the treasury, and this appearing in a comparative view, may, without other comment, clearly shew how much less able we are to bear so heavy a burden now than at that time, and how necessary it is we should adopt some means to prevent a continuance of such dangerous profusion. If we should ever by chance have a minister in this country who should wish to preserve a proper system of economy, it will serve him as a barrier against troublesome applications, for he can answer them by this record, and it may be the means of restriction without the appearance of coercion. As they are all facts that cannot be controverted, it will save the gentlemen the trouble of looking for arguments to refute them.

He then moved his first resolution:

Resolved, That the amount of pensions for two years, ending Lady-day, 1757, was 89,481*l.*

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he could not see the use of repeating what was already on the journals, especially at this period of the session, after parliament had provided for the pension list, and passed it without animadversion; besides, there were many facts which might have led parliament to a resolution nine and twenty years ago, which were now forgotten. He moved, That the consideration of the question be adjourned to the first of August.

The House divided, and there appeared for adjourning the question,

Ayes - - 128 ——— Noes - - 67

Mr. BROWNLOW then moved the following resolutions severally:

Resolved, That this House did, on the 1st day of November, 1757, unanimously resolve that the granting of so much of the public revenue in pensions, was an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public.

Resolved, That it appears by a report from the committee of accounts in November, 1757, that there remained in credit to the nation at Lady-day, 1757, a sum not less than the sum of 249,422l.

Resolved, That the charge for pensions on the civil establishment, for one year only, ending at Lady-day, 1785, amounted to the sum of 91,375l. and that considerable additions have been since made.

Resolved, That it appears by a report from the committee of accounts that the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1785, amounted to the sum of 2,181,501l.

Resolved, That an improvident disposition of the public revenue tends to burden the public with an encrease of debt, or an encrease of taxes.

A motion was made that the consideration of the resolutions be adjourned to the first of August; and the question being put, there appeared,

Ayes - - 129 ——— Noes - - 75

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said that at present the first of August was simply stiled the glorious first of August, but the present administration were determined to immortalize it.

Mr. FORBES moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to limit the amount of pensions.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he was always happy when he could comply with the wishes of gentlemen. He saw nothing in the title of the bill that could induce him to oppose giving leave to bring it in, therefore the honourable gentleman had his consent, though he did not think himself bound to remain silent, if, when the bill appeared, it should contain exceptionable matter.

SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1786.

A petition of the merchants and traders engaged in the fishery on the north-west coast of the county of Donegall, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the number of ships employed during the late fishing season in that business, amounted to near five hundred, the tonnage of which exceeds on an average twenty thousand tons; that almost all of said ships were loaded with full cargoes of good, sound, well-cured, merchantable herrings, superior to any ever imported, which are daily arriving in the different ports of this kingdom for the supply of the several markets; that the boats employed in taking herrings on said coast amount to above two thousand; that one year with another the herrings shipped for the different markets have exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand barrels annually, exclusive of the vast quantities carried by land for the supply of the inland counties; that the greatest part of said fish are consumed in this kingdom; that the markets have been constantly supplied for several years past with a sufficient quantity of well-cured herrings at a reasonable price for home consumption, and a large redundancy for exportation; that the said trade has in a period of twelve years arrived at its present flourishing state by the bounty and encouragement given by the wisdom of parliament; that the present duty on foreign herrings will be a great means of promoting said fisheries, by securing the home and export markets to petitioners; and therefore praying that no alteration may be made respecting said duty.

Mr. LONGFIELD said that as much had been boasted of the commerce conferred on this country, an enquiry should be made into the state of that commerce, and how far the sincerity of professions keep pace with the reality of performance in the country: His only motive for the investigating of a subject of such great national consequence, was the ardent desire of seeing this important business brought to a favourable and honourable conclusion. In this he hoped to experience not only the indulgence of the House, but the support of every member to whom the prosperity of this country was an object; and however the subject had roused the resentment of the mercantile class of the nation, and strong as the claims were which that respectable body of men had on him, both as an individual and their representative, yet, at the same time that he confessed they had just cause for their clamours, he was determined to pursue the subject with temperance. It was almost needless to inform the House, that the difficulties encountered with a trade to Portugal were what he alluded to; and great as this country had been abused in that business, yet he owned himself an advocate for moderation in discussing the subject. In consequence of this, he did not wish to call on evidence to sup-

port what he should assert, as he was sure there was no person bold enough to contradict what, from the most respectable authority, he had liberty to advance.

In the year 1781, said he, when England was involved in a war, Portugal, without any cause or shadow of provocation, took an illiberal advantage of the situation of this country. In the ensuing year, 1782, when parliament met, sensible of the ungenerous part acted by the Portuguese, on the 6th of February addressed his Majesty, for the purpose of bringing the court of Portugal to a right sense of their conduct. His Majesty, with that attention and humanity which is ever awake to the complaints of his subjects, and with a sincerity which we would be happy to see his servants emulate, was graciously pleased to send an answer to this country, couched in terms of affection worthy of the father of his people; which answer I move you may now be read.

The Clerk then read the King's answer. [*For which see vol. I, page 315, of this work.*]

Mr. LONGFIELD, after expatiating on its contents, and the ardour his Majesty shewed therein to serve his Irish subjects, said he hoped the House would unanimously exert itself, and not acquiesce in a longer imposition on this score. He could assure them from the best authority, on the veracity of which he could depend, that Portugal was at present well disposed to receive the manufactures of this country. On a matter of such magnitude he could wish to see government unequivocally candid, and properly disposed to serve the Irish nation. All papers relative to the business were promised to be laid before the House, and a committee was appointed to sit, which having sat two days, rose again without, it is to be presumed, receiving or giving any further information on the subject of their inquiry. Five years, continued he, have elapsed, and though the progress of the negociation has been repeatedly demanded, we have still been amused with promises of intelligence, as ineffectual of performance at this day, as at the distance of five years ago; clogged with every impediment which can possibly prevent us from receiving any satisfactory answer. The insolence with which this House has been treated, should rouse it to an exertion of its dignity, for the imposition under which we have laboured has sown discord between this country and Portugal, and was cunningly designed, by a monopolizing and intriguing people, to make us lay a tax upon the wines of that country, which, in the year 1785, you have done without receiving any intelligence as to the real cause why the Portuguese did not receive our manufactures—manufactures which, from indisputable authority, I can assert that the Portuguese would not only receive with pleasure, but give a decided preference, if something illiberal and insidious did not militate against their inclination; therefore, for the purpose of being informed of the parties on whom the faults can with justice fall, I move,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, that there be laid before the House copies of all the memorials, representations and letters, sent to his Majesty’s ministers by the ministers of the Queen of Portugal, or by his Majesty’s ministers to the ministers of the Queen of Portugal, relative to the admission of Irish manufactures to an entry in the ports of the dominions of Portugal, on the same terms on which the manufactures of Britain have been admitted.”

Mr. FORBES seconded the motion.

Mr. ORDE.—The honourable gentleman takes it for granted that there can be no objection to communicate the papers he desires. I assure him, I am exceedingly reluctant to refuse him any information; but I trust his own good sense will point out the impropriety of calling for papers of this kind, at a time that a negociation is pending.

I am surprised when the honourable gentleman says, he wishes to know where the blame rests, and in what state the negociation is. As to blame, the House will see that there is none to be imputed. We have heard the King’s answer read, and it is well known that from that time ministers have used their best exertions to forward the negociation. Within this fortnight I informed the House the matter would very soon be decided; whether favourably or otherwise I cannot pretend to judge; but as it is now at a very nice and critical point, I beg leave to say that nothing would be so likely to render it unfavourable as a hasty interference of this House.

The honourable gentleman has said, that he had been informed by merchants, that Portugal is ready to do this country all justice. I beg of gentlemen to beware, there is nothing we ought to guard against with more caution than being made the dupes of foreign countries, who may think it their interest to excite jealousies and animosities between Great Britain and Ireland. I do assert, and I desire to stake the credit of my life upon the assertion, that in this negociation ministers will not make a shadow of distinction between the interests of Great Britain and Ireland.

I will give the honourable gentleman one reason for thinking the matter will soon be concluded:—The Portuguese minister, Chevalier Pinto, has declared that he has full power to decide upon it; and this being the case, knowing as I do that the honourable gentleman has no object but the interest of the country, I submit it to his discretion, whether it would now be proper to urge the address.

Mr. FORBES.—Mr. Eden did not satisfy the House with verbal messages; he gave every necessary information. I do not see why the present Secretary should assume more consequence, and think we have more faith in his word than in the authentic infor-

mation of another. The honourable member on my left hand [the Attorney General] moved the address.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he was the person who moved the address; Mr. Eden brought down papers certainly, and an honourable baronet moved to have them lie on the table.

Mr. ANNESLEY paid some compliments to Mr. Eden, and expressed himself against the motion.

Mr. MASON said he submitted to the honourable member the inconsistency of the motion, and urged him to withdraw it.

Mr. LONGFIELD begged for the present to be excused from taking the honourable member's advice. He only sought for information, to avoid criminating; and said if the Secretary would promise to give the satisfaction required, before the House was up, he would cheerfully withdraw his motion. If something is not done, says he, the Portuguese will retaliate, and the retaliation will fall on the butter of Ireland; this may not injure the feelings of the Secretary, but I am sure that not only the kingdom in general, but numbers of the poor and industrious peasantry will be materially distressed.

Mr. ORDE said if it was held up to the court of Portugal they may do so; he again requested the motion might be withdrawn, and said the information given by the honourable mover might be of very bad consequences to this country.

Mr. LONGFIELD said he was too much a friend to the country to give any information to its enemies that might injure it. The information he had was given by a gentleman who had it directly from the Chevalier Pinto, the Portuguese ambassador.

Mr. ORDE.—The honourable gentleman says, if I will in the course of the session give the satisfaction required, he will withdraw his motion. Certainly, Sir, I will not conceal from the House any information that is fit to be communicated; if any arrives, I shall make it known forthwith. But as to Mr. Pinto communicating any matter of such importance to the merchants, can it be supposed a minister would subject himself to the highest censure for betraying the secrets of his court? No; the idea was thrown out by men who wished to mislead the honourable gentleman, and to make dupes of the people of this country.

Mr. CORRY said the conduct of the minister who gave every satisfaction to the House that it had occasion to require, formed no favourable contrast to the conduct of the minister of the present day. Why does not, said he, the honourable gentleman come boldly forward, and not entertain the House with unintelligible obscurity? He said it was the practice of parliament to enquire into negotiations, and for his part he could not see what

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hazard could possibly be run from laying the information required by this motion before the House. He here took a view of the question, and concluded by saying, he did not mean to enter into a warfare with Portugal, but only to push her minister for an explanation of their conduct: He, for that reason, saw the propriety of this motion, and would undoubtedly give it his hearty support.

Mr. TOLER said he hoped the honourable gentleman would wait for some further information. During the administration of Lord Carlisle, the most honourable efforts had been made by Mr. Eden: This country ever found that gentleman awake to her misfortunes, and yet he found in this business he could do nothing. He now thought it time to call on his Majesty's ministers; he did so, and found that matters are now in a proper line of reconciliation; [a cry of no, no,] certainly matters are in a train—his honourable friend [the Secretary] had assured them that a negotiation was drawing to a crisis—he could not doubt the veracity of his assertion, therefore he entreated the honourable mover of the resolution, and the House, not to be made the dupes of interested information; for parliament, he said, never appeared to be in a more awkward situation than when it was interfering with negotiations or treaties. He was astonished how it could enter into the head of any gentleman, that we are not to be included in that negotiation—when England is doing every thing in her power to promote our manufacture. He entered into some explanation of the Methuen treaty, and declared the Secretary would be a very rash man to mention, at this period, what he could hereafter, when supported by every authority the House would require. If it was possible, he said, that in this circumstance he could be deceived, he would then exert himself to the utmost of his power; and for these reasons recommended to his honourable friend, of whose good wishes for this country he was well aware, to withdraw his motion.

Mr. MASON.—After so many substantial reasons have been offered for withdrawing this motion, I should be ashamed to urge any new argument. If the honourable gentleman persists, I shall move the question of adjournment.

Mr. KEARNEY.—I shall offer one reason for withdrawing the motion, and which indeed ought to come from the right honourable secretary. We understand from the public prints, that England is now forming treaties of commerce with almost all the maritime states: this must necessarily involve the trade to Portugal; I am therefore for leaving ministers unembarrassed, that they may be at liberty to make the best bargain possible.

Mr. CURRAN said he was convinced that not one good end could be derived from withholding the information required;

What, says he, is Ireland ever to be obliged to console herself with explaining the enigmas of an English secretary, solving his political problems, and expressing her astonishment at his sagacious paradoxes. If it were decided that the right of Ireland was refused by the court of Portugal to trade to her dominions, then he apprehended it would be a question for Great Britain herself, if she was sincere in her declarations towards this country: It was, he said, the highest nonsense to say that a treaty, which we are told is soon to be made public, is a matter of secrecy; the honourable gentleman may also say, that the exportation of beef and butter was a secret. It is indeed a matter of amazement that his extreme caution does not also prompt him to warn the House not to make that circumstance public. Thus we find the nation to be amused because a secretary, rising with much solemnity in his seat, declares he has now reason to believe, from what he has not reason to comprehend, that matters would be brought to a conclusion favourable to this country; an assertion which it is evident he cannot with any degree of authenticity support, from his manifest ignorance of the negotiation which he evasively pronounces on foot. This indeed is highly ridiculous, but not more so than my learned friend's getting up to construe the Methuen treaty, or, in fact, what the honourable gentleman within a few feet of him has advanced; the task he confessed a difficult one, his merit was therefore the greater for stepping forward to rescue from oblivion, or develop the previous arguments of his friend; but however he may admire him as a commentator, yet he was sorry to find himself still in the dark, notwithstanding his learned friend's laudable exertions. He did not wish to give way to levity, but the absurdities of some persons had the unfortunate knack of turning matters of the most serious nature into ridicule. The present opposition given to the motion before the House fell under that description, and it would be extremely ludicrous to treat that opposition seriously. If the trade of Portugal is to be abandoned, let the humanity of the honourable gentleman declare it, that we may find out another market for the exportation of our butter and woollens, and not continue, in the course of six years, to be deceived from day to day, and be the ridicule of Europe, by suffering ourselves to be thus easily duped by designing and illiberal ministers. He then asked the Secretary if there was positively a negotiation on foot?

Mr. ORDE said he had repeatedly told gentlemen that the treaty was drawing to a conclusion, and let the event be what it would, they would very soon know it.

Mr. CURRAN.—However great the honour I may have received from the honourable gentleman's condescension in giving me an answer, yet I must beg leave to proceed. He has told us there is

a treaty on foot; now if there is, what injury can be done the cause by disclosing that a proposal has been made to the court of Portugal? If circumstances favourable to us are included in that proposal, the information will quiet the minds of the people, and not disserve the honourable gentleman or his cause. He said he had indeed heard of a game of chess going from one generation to another, but in a commercial negociation he humbly apprehended a similar procrastination was unnecessary. He would be happy to be informed of a simple question, whether the interruption was to be on the exportation of cloth to Portugal? If, said he, we sleep over this business any longer, will not Portugal laugh at our pusillanimity? Your prohibition of port wine is a tax of revenue upon yourselves; you make us pay double for a glass of wine to revenge yourselves on the Portuguese. For this tax I am no advocate; not from a motive of luxury so much, as to prove that we are not so inconsistent as to take revenge of the Portuguese for the misconduct of the English ministers. If the question of adjournment is put, it will tell the Portuguese that the House of Commons have given up the circumstance; therefore I will, in consequence of this opinion, vote against the adjournment, and for the motion of my honourable friend.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) observed, that if Britain was in earnest, that Ireland should participate of the Portugal trade, this motion would rather accelerate than retard the information which it went to require, and therefore could not be reasonably objected to. He was certain that in the whole process of this matter, England had neither exerted her abilities nor rendered her duty to this country, else Portugal dare not refuse rendering justice to this country. Could it be supposed that a state, who could not call one kingdom her friend from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, who had no protection but Great Britain for existing as a state, would venture to refuse the peremptory demand of its protector? Would such a contemptible crown as Portugal trifle with the just demands of that power, which might be said to have maintained a war with the world in all its quarters, and yet retreated with dignity? Since written evidence was refused to be given, to clear up the dark proceedings on the Portugal business, inferences must be made from circumstances; and could it be reasonable to call now for information, when it was recollected that five years ago an English secretary made the same answer, in the very same place where the right honourable gentleman had risen on the other side of the House, with probably as little certainty of ever bringing this affair to a conclusion.

He said Ireland could not exist without commercial resources to support the enormity of revenue which it was annually obliged to send to England. Without a mart for her woollens and butter, how could she be enabled to send one million and an half of

money every year into Great Britain, to pay the rents of absentees and the prices of manufactures, before she could touch a halfpenny herself? How would England like that instead of making prompt payments to Irish absentees and British manufacturers, that she should say, "I am in the train of paying you, but know not when I shall conclude on that head." Unfortunately, said he, there is nothing in train but our commerce, for the discharge of every thing else the demand is forcible and peremptory. Even the frivolous construction of treaties is set up against us. Portugal, with an old Latin treaty in her hand, gives its wording her own construction, unfavourable to Ireland; while, on the other side, England takes up her own act of navigation, and construes its simple meaning to the disadvantage of this country. —It was at length high time to come to a definition on this head, and if delays were to be admitted, let it be in consequence of well-grounded documents that such delays were necessary.

Mr. SACKVILLE HAMILTON.—In the course of the debate many charges have been made against the British ministers, as if they had not fairly and zealously asserted the rights of Ireland. It has fallen in my way to know a good deal of this business, and I think it but justice to declare, that ministers in Great Britain and government here have exerted all their influence, and all their abilities, fully and fairly to bring it to a conclusion favourable to this country.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he could not think of putting the motion off with a question of adjournment; he would meet it and decide against it as soon as possible—for if Ireland had not a mind to make herself the laughing-stock of Europe, in matters of negotiation, she would not for a minute entertain a thought of interfering with ministers while they were endeavouring to form a treaty.

Whatever advantage Ireland may gain by a treaty with Portugal, France loses exactly so much. Will you then advert to France of the situation in which your treaty at this moment stands, by laying on your table the papers moved for?—France, in this bargain with Portugal, is a bidder against you. From a situation in which I had once the honour to be placed at a foreign court, I had an opportunity of seeing this. France has already got the better of England in the lighter cotton and woollen manufactures, which are in request in Portugal; the only rival she has now to fear is Ireland, and will you act now in such a manner as to let France circumvent you? If you do, you may be esteemed for your valour, your generosity, your integrity; but, as politicians you will be laughed at by all Europe.

Mr. BURTON CONYNGHAM.—No man entertains an higher opinion of the honourable gentleman who moved this question

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than I do; but give me leave to say, that is the only thing in the world the most advantageous to Portugal, and injurious to Ireland. Nothing could more serve the cause of Portugal than an opinion, not founded in fact, that her trade is an object of consequence to us. It has been said that England might long since have settled this business, if she had thought proper; but is it to be thought that England would sacrifice Ireland, connected to her by every tie— Ireland, her second self, to a paltry foreign kingdom; which exists but by her protection? It is not to be imagined. But if Portugal can sow jealousy between the two islands, she will be enabled to make the better bargain with both. The whole export trade of Portugal is but 800,000*l.* per annum, of which 700,000*l.* is to Great Britain and Ireland, in fruit, salt, wine, and a few other articles. The wine of Portugal, *communibus annis*, is thirty-six thousand pipes, twenty thousand of which England takes, and Ireland half the remainder. There are no other nations that use the productions of Portugal in any considerable quantity, and since we have laid on the high duty, the exports of wine have diminished exceedingly; in one house not less than six hundred pipes. It is their wine lying on hands, and the murmurs of their merchants, that now excite Portugal to treat with us. The article of wine alone used to draw 80,000*l.* annually, in money or produce, from this country to Portugal, the loss of which Portugal can ill sustain. Upon an average the best wines of France are five and twenty per cent. cheaper than the wines of Portugal. There is no danger, therefore, of our wanting wine, if we should entirely refrain from the Portuguese market, but there is no other place in the world that can furnish Portugal with butter, if she refrains from taking that which is produced here. Besides, Spain produces wines that are exceedingly good, and well adapted to our climate, and there are a thousand reasons why we should cultivate a commerce and friendship with Spain in preference to Portugal. One is, she has no linen manufacture of her own, but her demands for linen are endless, whereas Portugal has a considerable manufacture of linen, and her demands for Irish linen are inconsiderable. Upon the whole, I think the trade to Portugal by no means an object on which we should express any anxiety, and if we do, it is the effectual way to prevent an advantageous treaty.

Mr. MONTGOMERY (of Donegal).—As the right honourable gentleman has given us so much information, I beg leave to give him a little. If Portugal had no other market, London alone would take all the wines she can produce, not to mention the northern kingdoms of Europe, particularly those surrounding the Baltic, where the wines of Portugal are in high request. But this is a political hunting; England is jealous of Ireland, the only country that can cope with her, and therefore she endeavours to

make a quarrel between us and Portugal, two countries that are by nature adapted to trade with each other, and which would for ever continue in amity, if our sister, or rather our tyrant, who starves one half of us to bribe the other, did not use every artifice to create ill-will between us and Portugal.

Mr. DUNN said one gentleman had endeavoured to shew that Portugal was prevented from entering into a treaty with us by France, who had monopolized her trade; another, that she could have no trade with any country but one in a climate similar to ours—it was impossible both these assertions could be right.

He then proceeded to shew that however the Portugal trade might be despised, it was of some importance, and by no means an object that we should relinquish, especially as we were intitled to it not only by the Methuen treaty, but by the first treaty formed with the Braganza family.

In a former debate, said he, I mentioned some expressions which the public prints had stated as coming from a nobleman in the English House of Peers, I mean Lord Hillsborough.—[Here the House grew clamorous, and would not suffer Mr. Dunn to proceed. The Speaker having established order, Mr. Dunn proceeded.] I know it is exceedingly indelicate to speak of any person in another House. If I have transgressed order, I most humbly ask pardon; but rising as I do to explain and to wipe away any imputation undeserved by that nobleman, I request I may be heard. When I mentioned Lord Hillsborough, as charging with disloyalty a great and respectable body of Irishmen, and as speaking of an union, I accompanied what I said with a declaration of my disbelieving the story, though as it had been set forth in the public papers, and was not till then denied on the part of his lordship, I was warranted in stating it to the House, that every man might express his abhorrence of such ideas. I have since most sedulously inquired into the matter, and I have now authentic and indisputable proofs that his lordship never did make use of any such words as those which were attributed to him, but that the calumny was propagated with intent to injure a worthy man in the esteem of his country. Having formerly stated the charge, I now think it just and liberal to state the refutation.

The question of adjournment was withdrawn, and afterwards Mr. Longfield's motion.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE presented a bill to amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty fourth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for erecting and building a new and convenient gaol and marshallsea in the county of Limerick, and county of the city of Limerick, and to enable certain trustees and commissioners therein named to purchase ground whereon to

ereft and build the fame; which was received and read the firft time.

Mr. CONYNGHAM prefented a bill to explain and amend an act paffed in the twenty-fifth year of his prefent Majefty, entitled an act for the further improvement and extension of the fifheries on the coafts of this kingdom; which was received and read the firft time.

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1786.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN faid he had a matter of great commercial confequence to fubmit to the confideration of the Houfe, and defired to know when gentlemen would agree to its being brought on, as he believed they were flinted in point of time, and he wifhed an early day.—It was agreed for to-morrow.

Mr. TYDD prefented a bill for the relief of perfons who have omitted to qualify themfelves according to law; which was received and read the firft time.

Mr. FORBES prefented a bill to limit the amount of penfions; which was received and read the firft time.

A motion was made, that this bill be read a fecond time to-morrow.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE faid he was certain his honourable friend confidered penfions as a public enemy, when he obferved the order and regularity with which he made his advances againft them: On Monday laft he firft iffued his challenge in due form, and it was counterfigned by a very powerful ally indeed, who fignified fomewhat of feverity againft any who fhould entertain a contrary opinion. My right honourable friend, continued he, did not go fo far as Lord Peter * in the Tale of a Tub, who declared, that “all who denied his pofition were fcoundrels and liars, and damned fons of whores.” However, his inference was fufficiently ftrong againft thofe who fhould difpute his doctrine. On Friday laft, through another powerful ally, a manifefto was publifhed, referring to the opinions of former ages, and appealing to the world on the prefent enormity. This day, on the approach of the Ides of March, my honourable friend marches his bill into the field, formed and drawn up with great skill, and under the conduct of able generals—yet I muft freely confeß, with

* Mr. Grattan, in a former debate, faid if he fhould vote that penfions were not a grievance, he would vote an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie.

all its advantage of ground, with all the ability of its leaders, is yet appears to me utterly indefensible; that it has more of figure than force; that it is vulnerable in every part, and an opinion of its imbecility alone could embolden so feeble an adversary to make a stand against it.

Whatever respect is due to any authority under the sun, whatever deference is due the practice of any nation, or the opinion of any man, there are certain principles which are beyond their influence—there are certain principles that are in their nature immutable, and in our constitution there are principles that must stand unaltered as long as our constitution stands unimpaired. The wisdom of our ancestors, or the happy concurrence of accidents that produced our excellent constitution, has interwoven with the republican part (which secures public liberty) a part of the spirit, the activity, and the energy of monarchy, to secure public safety. This energy must exercise itself through the crown, in its known and ascertained prerogatives, which are vested in the crown under constitutional trusts, to be used for the public good. These, from their very nature, must in the first instance be encouraged under the discretion of the crown, otherwise there will be an end of the trust, and an extinction of the power.

The constitution has not left those powers without a controul; we all know the abuse of those powers is subject to the controul of parliament; but if you do not leave the original exercise free, you defeat the prerogative, and alter the constitution; and therefore I lay it down as a maxim, which cannot be controverted, that any law which shall place an undoubted prerogative of the crown under bondage is unconstitutional, and therefore if there were no other objection than that, this bill is inadmissible.

Suppose a bill were proposed to restrict the crown in powers of declaring war or making peace, or limit the rights of granting pardon for breach of the laws, my honourable friend, I am sure, would not admit it; and yet these powers not only are liable to abuse, but frequently have been abused. A rash declaration of war may be the ruin of the state, and indiscriminate pardons may be the subversion of the laws, but the constitution could not subsist without them.

Look through Magna Charta, the petition of rights, the declaration of rights—look through the new Magna Charta for Ireland, which a right honourable and most respected friend of mine drew with his own hand—you will not find a single attempt in ancient or modern patriotism (except in the days of Cromwell) to restrict the legal prerogatives of the crown, they all go to restrain powers assumed—not prerogative, but usurpation—such as dispensing with the laws of the land, arbitrary imprisonment, and raising money on the people without their consent. As to the general power of granting pensions, that it is one of the legal capacities

of the crown I believe stands confessed; it has been recognized by parliament for near a century, passed in your national accounts, and always comprehended in the measure of your supply; and Lord Coke expressly says, "No king or kingdom can be safe unless, amongst other capacities, the king be enabled to reward his faithful servants." This, like every other capacity, is liable to abuse; and when abuse is of such a nature as to justify the interposition of parliament, it is the duty of parliament to interpose. It may restrict future grants, or call the minister to account who advised the abuse, but there is not a power in the crown which in its nature is so incapable of that precise limitation which this bill affects, as that of granting pensions. You cannot attempt to place bounds to that which is in its nature uncertain—it would be to regulate accident, to ascertain emergency.

As to the abuse and misapplication of the power which is to justify this bill, we had a general discourse on this subject the other day. The list was read, as evidence sufficient for condemnation; it certainly did afford matter of ridicule to the witty, and severity to the austere; and certainly in so various a catalogue there must, from the nature of things, be materials for both. I also read in the newspapers a day or two afterwards, a very ludicrous assemblage of names held forth to public ridicule, such as Gravenkaps, Walmodens, Wartenslabens, and such like. It is impossible to hear the recital of those names without laughter, and yet it is the same degree of mirth which would be excited in a German assembly on a recital of the names of M'Loughlin, O'Flanagan, or O'Shaughnassy. But what is the serious inference from those names? that his late Majesty, whose illustrious family were called over for the establishment of your liberties and the suppression of arbitrary power, was a German, and that amongst his faithful servants some were his countrymen, whose fidelity made them objects of his royal bounty, though their names may be the subjects of popular merriment. As to the misapplication which is to justify this bill, I will not say that there are not some names on the list whose services do not entitle them to their situation, but as long as man is man, such instances must be unavoidable. It is impossible to expect that the stream of royal bounty should never in its progress visit any but the deserving. It would be to expect that human affairs were to be exempt from human infirmities, and that infallibility, and not error, was the lot of man.

A very eloquent and respectable member said the other night, that our very virtues betray us sometimes from a strict attention to our public duty! He will allow the same sympathies, the same affections must be felt by others.

As to the magnitude of the amount that is to justify this bill, I know very well that 95,000*l.* is a large sum to be thus employ-

ed; that an increase of 17,000*l.* in twenty years is certainly a considerable increase of the public expence, yet I do declare that though I consider it as a burden, and like every other increase of expence, an evil which, in common with others, is incidental even to a free state, yet considering the growth of things, and the condition of the country, I do not think it of sufficient magnitude to be entitled to the denomination of a national grievance, that should justify the interposition or awaken the animadversion of parliament. The interposition of parliament is a great effort, that should not be wasted on inadequate, but reserved for great occasions. To great occasions indeed has it lately been directed by a right honourable friend, whose name will ever be remembered with veneration—A suspension of constitutional rights—a restriction of commerce—the dependent state of the judges—a barrier of interception between the parliament and the crown—these are great occasions, worthy the interposition of parliament; but if you waste them on inadequate occasions you destroy their authority.

When the people of the earth first heard the voice of thunder, they were impressed with awe; they thought it the voice of the Almighty, calling upon them for their sins; they began to think of amending their lives; but when it became more frequent, it lost its terror and its dignity; it was no longer considered as the admonition of supreme power, but they began to find out that it was only a noise, the result of natural causes—that it was only the intemperate collision of inflammable materials—the agitation of dark and discordant vapours.

I am not an advocate nor an apologist for public prodigality.—A wanton prodigality in the crown is a great crime—it is a breach of trust; but if it is a thing that may happen, we ought to take care that in guarding against it we do not give it a worse direction. If prodigality or influence corrupts the principles of government, take care that by stopping the current of pensions you do not turn it into a more pernicious channel, the multiplication of offices. In that case the administration of the state would be injured, whilst the nation would be impoverished. In that case, to the waste of public money you add the perversion of public duty; beside, in that case you substitute in the place of a temporary a perpetual evil—the burden of the pensioner is laid down at his death—the officer has successors from generation to generation.

I do not state these ideas as right—I know they are abominably wrong—but as all our systems are a combination of good and evil, we should not in guarding against a lesser, expose ourselves to a greater evil.

There is another circumstance in this bill which I think utterly inadmissible—the restriction of pensions is to be relaxed by the addresses of parliament.

I do confess there may be, and there have been, extraordinary occasions, which not only justify but dignify the interposition of

parliament on this subject. Cases were stated the other night; and let me add, that when the Commons of Ireland, from their genuine feelings, interposed to enrich those laurels that were acquired by the right honourable member in successful efforts for the public benefit, they conferred, if possible, more honour on themselves than on the right honourable gentleman whom they distinguished. But occasions of this kind are extraordinary; and though the magnitude of the service justified the novelty of the interposition, yet making it any thing like a system would be injurious to the country, and an invasion of the natural rights of the crown; it would be wresting a jewel from the crown, and setting it where it should not shine. Beside, to what a dangerous and degrading situation you would reduce parliament—members canvassing, soliciting, and gratifying each other at the public expence—employed in the double, I had almost said impure capacity of courting and complying at the same time—at once caressing and caressed—it would be abominable. Beside, if you were to suppose the minister possessed of the impure influence you describe, he would then grant pensions by the power of his majorities—he would disengage himself from his responsibility, and place himself and his prodigality out of the reach of controul. And now, having stated some of my objections to the bill, may I assure my honourable friend that, on the first day of August next, (to which day the House seems inclined to refer the consideration of this business) when I shall have the happiness of conversing with him on this subject, not in this House, but coolly under a shade in the country, I will mention some anecdotes, which I cannot so well mention to him here, concerning the unanimous resolution of 1757, which will, I trust, convince him that though the motions originated with the most respectable gentlemen, yet their success was the result of singular circumstances, rather than unanimous opinion. And though parliament have, perhaps, always looked to pensions with jealousy, they really and truly did not, nor could not, with 250,000*l.* in credit, consider 45,000*l.* per annum in pensions a national grievance that demanded redress.

Mr. Hewitt said he would oppose the principle of the bill, as an invasion of the royal prerogative, which he would ever think as much his duty to defend, as it was to maintain the privileges of parliament. Gentlemen, he said, did not seem aware of the evil tendency of the bill; they were hurried into it without considering consequences, just as the peers of England, in 1738, when with the concurrence of the crown they drew up exactly such a bill as the present; but the Commons of England fortunately stepped in between the peers and the crown, and by maintaining the royal prerogative, then just going to be surrendered, preserved the constitution of their country; and happy for the country it

is, that each branch of the legislature is a check upon the other two.

It is admitted, said he, that at times the crown has shewn some marks of profusion, but in no proportion to the profusion of the commons. I do not mean to condemn the commons for this profusion, much less the persons who were the objects of it. As to one gentleman, who received fifty thousand pounds, he has my thanks that he did not take an hundred thousand, which I believe the parliament of that day would have given him.

In my opinion the bill that has been read is not only unnecessary but pernicious. As the constitution stands the crown is trustee for the public treasure, accountable to parliament; but should the bill be passed, the commons would then have assumed the prerogative of the crown, and overturned the constitution.

Mr. MASON said that a sufficient degree of attention had been shewn to the subject of pensions, and to the honourable members who brought it forward, by admitting the introduction of the bill; but as he considered it as a direct attack on the prerogative of the crown, he was determined to oppose its further progress. That the House had frequently passed resolutions concerning the amount and application of pensions, and had sometimes debated on the subject of their legality, particularly in the session of 1763, when a motion was made for an address, representing to his Majesty that some doubts had been conceived concerning the legality of pensions, and requesting that he would withhold the granting of pensions until that point should be ascertained by law; but that this was the first time that any attempt had been made to limit the grants of pensions by an act of parliament. The gentleman, however, who adopted this extraordinary and unprecedented measure, had introduced this bill without any preface, and without adducing any arguments whatsoever in support of it; that as this was the case, he should not trouble the House with any reasons for opposing it; for it was surely more incumbent on the gentleman who proposed an innovation in the constitution to assign some reasons for his conduct, than for the man who, standing on the ground of the constitution, opposed that innovation. He rose merely to declare his intention of opposing the second reading of the bill, not to enter upon the subject, as he thought it would be idle to assign any reasons for opposing the bill, until some arguments should be urged in its favour. He hoped, however, that he should not be precluded from rising again, to answer such arguments as might be offered, and concluded with moving, "That the second reading of the bill be postponed to the first of August."

Sir BOYLE ROCHE.—I opposed this bill at its first rising in this House, in the shape of a motion—[The House called to Sir Boyle to speak up.]—Indeed I think it necessary that I should overcome

my bashfulness, and I lament that I was not brought up to the learned profession of the law, for that is the best remedy for bashfulness of all sorts.

The just prerogative of the crown and the rights of parliament are the main pillars that support the ponderous pile of our constitution.—I never will consent to meddle with either, lest I should bring the whole building about our ears.

I would not stop the fountain of royal favour, but let it flow freely, spontaneously and abundantly, as Holywell in Wales, that turns so many mills. Indeed some of the best men have drank of this fountain, which gives honour as well as vigour. This is my way of thinking; at the same time I feel as much integrity and principle as any man that hears me. Principle is the fair ground to act upon, and that any man should doubt the principle of another, because he happens to differ with him in opinion, is so bad an act that I do not chuse to give it a name.

Mr. FORBES said the honourable baronet appeared to have adjourned his arguments, as well as the second reading of the bill, to the first of August, as he had not used one argument against his motion. He had admitted the abuse in the pension list, and also the power of this House to correct the abuse; as to his objection to the exception respecting pensions granted on the address of both Houses of Parliament, it appeared then that the honourable baronet had no other objection; he said he should give up that part of the bill to accommodate the honourable baronet. As no solid argument had been urged against the bill, he should trespass on the patience of the House were he to say any more at present, especially as a right honourable gentleman had said that he should not use any arguments, but should reserve himself for another occasion.

Mr. CURRAN.—I object to adjourning this bill to the first of August, because I perceive in the present disposition of the House, that a proper decision will be made upon it this night. We have set out upon our enquiry in a manner so honourable, and so consistent, that we have reason to expect the happiest success, which I would not wish to see baffled by delay.

We began with giving the full affirmative of this House, that no grievance exists at all; we considered a simple matter of fact, and adjourned our opinion, or rather we gave sentence on the conclusion, after having adjourned the premises. But I do begin to see a great deal of argument in what the learned baronet has said, and I beg gentlemen will acquit me of apostacy if I offer some reasons why the bill should not be admitted to a second reading.

I am surprised that gentlemen have taken up such a foolish opinion, as that our constitution is maintained by its different component parts, mutually checking and controuling each other:

they seem to think with Hobbes, that a state of nature is a state of warfare, and that, like Mahomer's coffin, the constitution is suspended between the attraction of different powers. My friends seem to think that the crown should be restrained from doing wrong by a physical necessity, forgetting that if you take away from a man all power to do wrong, you at the same time take away from him all merit of doing right, and by making it impossible for men to run into slavery, you enslave them most effectually. But if instead of the three different parts of our constitution drawing forcibly in right lines, at opposite directions, they were to unite their power, and draw all one way, in one right line, how great would be the effect of their force, how happy the direction of this union. The present system is not only contrary to mathematical rectitude, but to public harmony; but if instead of privilege setting up his back to oppose prerogative, he was to saddle his back and invite prerogative to ride, how comfortably might they both jog along; and therefore it delights me to hear the advocates for the royal bounty flowing freely and spontaneously and abundantly, as Holywell in Wales. If the crown grants double the amount of the revenue in pensions, they approve of their royal master, for he is the breath of their nostrils.

But we will find that this complaisance, this gentleness between the crown and its true servants, is not confined at home, it extends its influence to foreign powers. Our merchants have been insulted in Portugal, our commerce interdicted; what did the British lion do? Did he whet his tusks? Did he bristle up and shake his mane? Did he roar? No; no such thing—the gentle creature wagged his tail for six years at the court of Lisbon, and now we hear from the Delphic oracle on the treasury bench, that he is wagging his tail in London to Chevalier Pinto, who he hopes soon to be able to tell us will allow his lady to entertain him as a lap-dog; and when she does, no doubt the British factory will furnish some of their softest woollens to make a cushion for him to lie upon. But though the gentle beast has continued so long fawning and couching, I believe his vengeance will be great as it is slow, and that that posterity, whose ancestors are yet unborn, will be surprised at the vengeance he will take.

This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbly herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection;—it teacheth, that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power

of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list that are like the lillies of the field—they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus—that it is sometimes good not to be over virtuous: it shews, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also—in proportion as our cloaths are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

But notwithstanding the pension list, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, give me leave to consider it was coming home to the members of this House—give me leave to say that the crown in extending its charity, its liberality, its profusion, is laying a foundation for the independence of parliament; for hereafter, instead of orators or patriots accounting for their conduct to such mean and unworthy persons as freeholders, they will learn to despise them, and look to the first man in the state, and they will by so doing have this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling they will not want one.

Suppose at any future period of time the boroughs of Ireland should decline from their present flourishing and prosperous state—suppose they should fall into the hands of men who would wish to drive a profitable commerce, by having members of parliament to hire or let; in such a case a Secretary would find great difficulty if the proprietors of members should enter into a combination to form a monopoly; to prevent which in time, the wisest way is to purchase up the raw material, young members of parliament, just rough from the grass, and when they are a little bitted, and he has got a pretty stud, perhaps of seventy, he may laugh at the slave-merchant; some of them he may teach to sound through the nose, like a barrel organ; some, in the course of a few months, might be taught to cry hear! hear! some chair! chair! upon occasion, though, those latter might create a little confusion, if they were to forget whether they were calling inside or outside of those doors. Again, he might have some so trained that he need only pull a string, and up gets a repeating member; and if they were so dull that they could neither speak nor make orations, (for they are different things) he might have them taught to dance *pedibus ire in sententia*.—This improvement might be extended; he might have them dressed in coats and shirts all of one colour, and of a Sunday he might march them to church two and two, to the great edification of the people and the honour of the Christian religion: afterwards, like the ancient Spartans, or the fraternity at Kilmainham, they might dine all together in a large hall. Good heaven! what a sight to see them feeding in public upon public viands, and talking of public subjects for the benefit of the public. It is a pity they are not immortal; but I hope they will flourish as a corpora-

tion, and that pensioners will beget pensioners to the end of the chapter.

Serjeant FITZGERALD opposed the bill on the principle, that every session of parliament would give opportunity of reforming any abuse that might take place in the granting of pensions, and because no abuse of the power of the crown could now be complained of.—The bill, he said, and the arguments used, even supposed that the influence of the crown had extended itself to a majority of the members of this House, an imputation false and groundless, and which no man was warranted in throwing upon parliament, much less would any dare to declare it in terms; if any should, he would be the person to move for his expulsion. As to the bill, he thought it necessary to discuss it, as on its very face it subverted the constitution, by taking away the prerogative of the crown, and giving to the peers a power they never possessed, and which was the peculiar privilege of the commons—the power of granting money.

Mr. FORBES, in reply, said that though he still persevered in his opinion, that no solid argument had been used against his bill, yet as some gentlemen of the other side had said, that no reason had been assigned for bringing in this bill, he considered it as his duty to explain the principles on which he founded this measure. At the same time, as the House had indulged him with such a patient hearing on the subject of pensions, on Monday last, he should not detain them long this night.

If he rested his justification for introducing the measure solely on this ground, the general conviction which prevailed in the minds of every person, both within and without the House, of the urgent necessity that some effectual measures should be adopted on this subject, he would rest it on a solid foundation; but in the proceedings of the House last week, on this subject, he could find a strong justification for the present measure. On Monday last there was certainly a majority of votes against his motions, but not one man of that majority denied that the present amount of the pension list was a grievance. The manner in which the resolutions of his right honourable friend [Mr. Brownlow] were resisted on Friday last, by an adjournment of the consideration of them to the first of August, proved that they contained principles which could not be denied—facts which could not be resisted; and when gentlemen on the part of administration object to this bill, as interfering with the prerogative of the crown, they should recollect that the objection comes too late; if the bill affected the prerogative of the crown, he observed, why did not the servants of the crown, on Friday last, oppose his motion for leave to bring in a bill to limit the amount of pensions? The title imported not only the object but the principle of the bill. The bill on the ta-

he corresponds exactly with the title; why did not the servants of the crown rise on Friday last, and declare, as a bill of this nature affected the rights of the crown, leave could not be granted for its introduction without the consent of the crown being obtained, according to the practice in the English parliament. No—the gentlemen did not make this objection, because they knew it could not be supported. He also contended that he was justified in his present measure by the experience of the House; resolutions, either in the committee of accounts or supply, to restrain the excess of the pension list, had proved ineffectual. In the year 1757, the then amount of the pension list had been voted, unanimously, by the House of Commons, a grievance; yet by the public accounts in the journals of the succeeding session, it appears that in the space of two years the amount of pensions had increased in a sum exceeding sixteen thousand pounds. In the last parliament but one a resolution had passed, in the committee of supply, that Mr. Dyson's pension ought not to be provided for; notwithstanding this resolution, Mr. Dyson's pension was paid as soon as that session ended, under the authority of a king's letter; therefore, he said, that he was warranted by experience to affirm, that the only effectual means of restraining the excess of the pension list is by an act of parliament. If the amount of pensions increase in the same proportion as they have for these last twenty-nine years, in less than twenty years every member of both houses of parliament will be a pensioner.

Let gentlemen, said he, only examine the last pension list, and observe the principle of boundless expence which it establishes. If in granting pensions neither public service rendered by individuals, nor the capacity of the country to pay those pensions, are to be taken into consideration, the expenditure under this article can have no bounds.—From an attentive perusal of the last pension list, we may discover the progress, as well as the fatal and final effects of this abuse; this last list discovers a prospect, though melancholy, not delusive, of Ireland falling by the hand of a pensioned and dependent parliament.

He said that gentlemen on the opposite side had asserted that the bill infringed on the prerogative of the crown; he called on the servants of the crown to prove their assertion. They had admitted that the present pension list was an abuse; if the prerogative of the crown was to be set up as a bar to every exertion of the House of Commons, to administer a remedy for this abuse, he would pronounce that if such doctrines were acquiesced in, there was an end to the liberties of this country. Had the crown a prerogative to do wrong? Had the constitution vested a power in the crown to subvert the constitution? No; the crown derived its title to the appellation of Most Excellent Majesty from its unbounded capacity to do good, and its natural incapacity to do injury.

He said one gentleman, who had spoken against his motion, had called for proof of the abuse of the pension list. If gentlemen asked for proof, he referred them to that very list—to the effect the reading that list in the House on Monday last produced on every hearer. The imprudent excess and gross misapplication of this list excited that day no other ideas in the minds of every man present, but those of ridicule and contempt. Did they ask for proof, he referred to the reluctance with which the gentlemen on the part of administration opposed his motion on Monday last—to the absence of all argument from the speeches against his motion—to the faint and extorted negative uttered on the opposite side of the House, when the question was put on his motion—to the embarrassment in the manner and countenance of every gentleman who rose to speak against his motion, which evidently proceeded from the feelings of the speakers acting in opposition to their votes. If they asked for proof, he referred them to the conscience and understanding of every man who heard him. The adoption of this measure would reflect lasting honour on the House of Commons, and procure unlimited confidence from the people. By the perseverance of administration in their resistance to this measure, they would clearly and unequivocally declare the principle on which they acted to be this :—We will not impair or diminish the sources of corruption, the sinews of Irish administration, but transmit them to our successors in all their original vigour and efficacy.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY.—It has been said by gentlemen on the other side, that no argument has been used against the introduction of the bill. I have given my utmost attention to the debate, and while I retort the charge, I must say that I never heard a series of better arguments, interspersed and enlivened with brilliant strokes of wit, than has been delivered by the honourable baronet who spoke on this side.

If there was no other reason for deferring this bill to the first of August, than that it is intended as a censure on the government of the Duke of Rutland, I should vote for it; for it cannot be supposed that he would remain in this country if such a bill should be carried. With the same view the motions which this House rejected the other night were made; they having failed, the censure is now brought in by a side wind; the argument used by the last honourable gentleman proves it; for he says that in the year 1757, a vote passed in parliament against pensions, and yet the very next year the establishment was loaded with 16,000*l.* additional. It appears then that the vote had no effect on government at that day; and if no effect was now to be expected from it, to what purpose but that of censure was it proposed?

I have looked over the pension list, and I think it may be divided into three classes:—The first comprehends the royal family—

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the immediate servants of the crown, or those whose services have attracted the notice of majesty; the second includes such pensions as have been granted in compliance with addresses from parliament; and the third consists of such pensions as may be supposed to flow immediately from the Irish minister for the time being; or from the public extortion of those who, having influence in parliament, insist upon burdening the nation.

In the year 1757, the two first classes, taken together, amounted to the sum of 6,750*l*. The last class was 42,000*l*. actually at the minister's disposal. Of the sum that has since been added, 31,240*l*, has been either for the royal family, the immediate servants of the crown, or in consequence of the addresses of parliament, that is, the sum of 31,240*l*. of the addition has been laid on for the two first classes, the remainder of the increment only at the will of the different ministers that have succeeded in twenty-nine years—that is to say, about thirteen thousand pounds. See then what a small proportion this bears to the ministerial pensions antecedent to that æra. In fact, it does not appear that the pension list has been increased for the purpose alleged, and the remedy to prevent its being increased further, is not to find out that prodigious abundance of merit for which parliament is so ready to address.

The expence of the monarchical part of our constitution is less in Ireland than in any country in Europe. In England, the civil list is one million annually; in Ireland the expence of the monarchical part of the constitution is about forty thousand pounds. If then the bill be meant as an effectual measure, it falls short of its object. The annual increment of the pension list is about 1600*l*. a year. What proportion does this bear to your grants, your gifts, and your bounties? Why, Sir, one scramble would cost the nation more than the so much complained of addition would amount to in five years.

I said before, Sir, that this bill is intended to cast a censure upon the Duke of Rutland's government, and if it was to pass it would be impossible for his Grace any longer to remain here. I do not think, however, that the conduct of that government has merited such a censure, considering it even as to the propositions. At the desire of the country, they took up the measure, and when it became disagreeable to the country they laid it down again; therefore I say their conduct upon that occasion should have exempted them from that attack.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) began his speech, by desiring the clerk to turn to the journals for the speech of his Grace the Duke of Rutland upon his first sitting on the throne of this kingdom, as the representative of his Majesty.—In that speech, said he, he thanked the commons for the cheerfulness and liberality with which they had granted the supplies, and promised the

utmost economy in the management and expenditure of them. When I heard these words, I went home with a full conviction that economy would take place. I looked upon it as a public declaration of the governor, sealed with the private honour of the man—and when I say that it has been broken, I still say that the Duke of Rutland is an honourable man, and that he may declare with Charles II. “my words are my own, but my actions are my ministers”—In justice to his character I must indeed add, he has never since used the word economy, though he has several times addressed the parliament; nay, though every word of former speeches has been copied with clerical exactness, yet the word economy has not by any accident been repeated.

The first act of the Duke of Rutland's government that struck me with surprise and astonishment was, the appointment of two post-masters general, where one had formerly been sufficient, and so sufficient that he was an absentee. I know it will be said, this was a measure of Lord Northington; yet it is somewhat singular that Lord Northington and the friends of the present ministers in England are in different habits, have different pursuits, and vote on different sides; all however that can be said is this, though they differ in all other things, they agree in laying burdens on us. As to the gentlemen who were appointed post-masters general, I think them worthy the highest offices in the state. What I complain of is the appointment of two, where one could have performed the duty.

I am also informed that an office for the extinction of which a pension was granted, has since been revived; and I hear also, that the minister has another addition of five or six thousand more in his pocket. Ministers are fond of round sums, and so anxious has ours been to get to the round sum of one hundred thousand pounds, that he has actually exceeded it.

He compared the conduct of the present Irish ministry with that of Mr. Pelham, who taking advantage of favourable circumstances, had lowered the demands of the public creditors, whereas ministry now, though there was plenty of stock in the market, had chose rather to deal with the old creditors of the public, and even to increase their emolument than not to burden the country. But the conduct of ministers was different in England and in Ireland; in England retrenchment and economy were principles laid down by ministers, whereas in Ireland the minister was not ashamed to come to the House and drill a majority to vote against the plainest matter of fact.—[Here the Attorney General called Mr. Burgh to order].—If I am out of order, continued he, it is because truth is not to be spoken at all times. We have heard so much of late concerning the prosperous state of this country, that one is compelled to look about to see where this prosperity exists—Is it in the loss of trade and the acquisition of taxes?—It

puts one in mind of Philip the Fourth, who, having lost his best provinces, ruined his subjects and destroyed their commerce, took it into his head to be called Philip the Great. Some of those who had smarted under his misgovernment caused a medal to be struck upon the occasion, on one side of which was Philip's head with the words "Philip the Great;" on the other side a ditch, with these words, "the more you take out of me the greater I gr w."

A gentleman has thrown down a gauntlet, and challenged any man to say, that the majority of this House act under the undue influence of pensions. I know it would be out of order to say so, but he would be a weak man, indeed, that would move the question of expulsion on a member for so doing.

I have heard of two pensions given to judges wives. Now why that should be done I cannot understand? Was that a part of the royal prerogative?—Was it ever intended that pensions should be given to judges wives, when so much care was taken to make the judges independent of the crown?

The pension list is no doubt graced with some illustrious names; on it we see Chatham, Rodney and Burgh. As to my honoured kinsman, the pension granted to his family reflects the highest credit upon them, because it was granted for virtues which would not have suffered him to accept it while he lived. It had the double character of mercy, which blesteth him that gives and him that takes; and if pensions were only to be granted to persons deserving of their country as much as those I have named, the pension list would soon sink indeed.

Mr. W. B. PONSONBY.—An honourable gentleman has stated as a grievance, my holding an office in this country.

Mr. BURGH.—If it had been an old office, I should never have said a word about it. There is no old office in the state too honourable for the gentleman, but I complain of the profusion manifested in erecting that office, and giving salaries to two right honourable gentlemen, when, as I stated, less than one was heretofore able to perform the duty.

Mr. PONSONBY.—I am very much obliged to the honourable gentleman for his good opinion of me; I have not the smallest reason to doubt the sincerity of it.

The establishing an Irish post-office was at the desire of the nation, and called for by this House; it was no act of the Duke of Rutland. Upon complying with the desire of parliament, it pleased his Majesty to appoint two post masters general. I hope they have hitherto done their duty to the benefit of the public, and the satisfaction of the House.—I, Sir, am the servant of the crown, but I never will be the slave of the minister. I know, Sir, the office I hold was expected by a noble friend of the honourable gentleman who spoke last; and had it been given to him, all

would have been done well, and I should never have grieved at his promotion.

Now as to the bill before you, this unnecessary parenthesis being over: If government was restricted to a certain sum in granting pensions, they would consider that sum as permanently fixed, and always keep the pensions up to it; bestowing it upon their own friends as they thought proper, and leaving the more meritorious servants of the state to the chance of being recommended by parliamentary address. This would occasion perpetual jobbing in parliament, and the House having in this bill alienated so much of the public treasure as it might allot to pensions, would have no controul upon their waste. In my opinion, things are much better for the nation as they now stand. If government commits any waste, parliament has a right to controul them; if the bill was to pass, that controuling power would be so far given up.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The gentlemen on the other side, who so warmly support this bill, have repeatedly charged that no argument has been used against it; that no one has used any argument but they themselves; and they further declare, that gentlemen are silent because they are drilled by the minister.

Now I have attended very closely to this night's debate, and though I have heard from those gentlemen, who condemn us for want of argument, a great number of words, a prodigious array of sentences, yet in my opinion they contain less argument, and more to be passed over without notice, than ever occurred upon any former question where I have been present.

The bill goes to a principle the most dangerous that ever was introduced into parliament—to rob the crown of its responsibility of the disposal of the public money, and to convey it to this House—nay, not to this House only, but to the House of Peers. Will gentlemen give me leave to remind them of what happened after the passing of their favourite vote of 1757? The members of this House caballed together, forming themselves into little parties, and voting to each other hundreds of thousands. And as no government could go on without the aid of their leaders, it cost this nation more to break through that pusillanimous aristocracy which had made a property of parliament, than what it would by the pension list for many years. The bill goes to depress government to the very situation to which it was depressed by the vote of 1757, therefore I oppose it.

The honourable gentleman who quoted the Duke of Rutland's speech, said, "he went home with satisfaction after hearing it delivered from the throne, in full confidence that economy would be the principle of his Grace's government; but his confidence vanished at once when he saw two post-masters general appointed at 1500*l.* a year each." I do believe it did;

yet if only one post-master general, at 3000*l.* a year, had been appointed, the honourable gentleman's confidence would have still remained.—However, the reason for appointing two, at half that salary each, was, that it is an office which requires much attention, and it is necessary that one post-master general should be always on the spot.

Another charge against the present government is, that they have not followed the example of Mr. Pelham in throwing aside the old creditors of the state, and taking in new ones, when there were so many in the market for sale; that is, that they have given pensions to the old servants of the state, and have not given pensions to those who never served the state at all, though there are so many of them at market for sale.

Another charge is, that though the Duke of Rutland has frequently spoken to parliament since the speech quoted by the honourable gentleman, yet from that time to this he has never used the word economy. Doubtless this is a heavy charge, but as the practice of economy has been substituted for the word, I hope it will plead excuse.

The gentleman complains, that after admitting this bill, after giving no opposition to the motion for leave to introduce it, and after suffering it to be once read, opposition is made to the second reading. I beg leave to tell the honourable gentleman, that there are very few instances in which I would oppose a bill without seeing what it contained, and therefore I would not follow the example of the respectable 110, who would have done their country infinitely more service by going into the commercial bill, examining it attentively, and pruning whatever might be improper, than by rejecting it without any examination at all. The honourable gentleman has said, that Lord Northington and the Duke of Rutland, though acting with different parties, yet both agree in one point—laying burdens on this country.—It is somewhat odd that the honourable gentleman could not perceive any extravagance in Lord Northington's government, while that worthy nobleman remained here, though now his indignation breaks forth so violently. I cannot think that he was then drilled to walk out and give a silent vote, though he never uttered one word upon the subject.

The honourable gentleman has complained of pensions being granted to judges wives, as not being consistent with the perfect independence of the judges. One of the two pensions which he complains of was granted before the judge was promoted to the bench, the other was given upon the address of this House to the judge himself, and at his desire transferred to his wife.

But let me ask gentlemen, who exclaim so loudly against pensions, is there no man amongst them who has ever thought his own services deserving of a pension? No, not one. Is there no man

who would accept a pension? No, not one. Was there a man of the 110 that would accept a pension? No, not one.

When that bill which threatened us wealth and commerce was introduced, was there a man of the said 110 that offered to desert for a pension? No, not one. Is there now a person amongst them that would come over and vote against the bill for a pension? Not one I am certain; and therefore when gentlemen speak against the folly and wickedness of bestowing pensions on members of parliament, I am convinced they speak the genuine sentiments of their mind.

MR. MICHAEL SMITH.—While I recollect with how much wit and pleasantry this debate commenced, I cannot but regret, both for my own sake and that of the House, that in its progress it seems to have lost considerably of its spirit, though at the same time the main question of argument does not seem to have been kept more steadily in view.

I will not say that no arguments have been made use of on the other side of the House; but I will say of those arguments, that as to such of them as rest upon my memory, the greater part are inconsistent, and all of them inconclusive, as against the principle of my honourable friend's bill.

Sir, the objections to the bill, as I recollect them, are threefold, 1st, that the bill implies an indirect and an unmerited censure on the present administration; 2dly, that it trenches on the prerogative of the crown; and lastly, that it is now unnecessary, or at least inexpedient.

Now, as to the first objection, I think the gentlemen on the other side do themselves refute it; for they tell us that economy is the motto and the maxim of the present administration; and that the Duke of Rutland's first object has been to equalize revenue and expence; if so, what administration so fit as the present for the introduction of my honourable friend's bill? or how can such an administration possibly consider his bill as importing any censure on them? The bill is obviously a bill of economy, and of course deserves the patronage and protection of an economizing administration. And as to the imputation of court-censure, surely, if the present administration has been so singularly chaste and frugal as gentlemen represent, they may defy every such attack, and lay with confidence,

"Let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung."

Then, Sir, as to any supposed invasion of the royal prerogative; what is prerogative? The best writer who perhaps ever wrote upon the subject defines it to be "a discretionary power in the prince, to act for the public good, where the positive laws are silent." From whence it is obvious, that prerogative has no existence except for the public good. If then the prerogative of the crown

is in any case turned against the public good, it is in that instance abused, and ought to be controuled.

The power of parliament to check and controul the royal prerogative upon proper occasions, neither is nor could be controverted; it therefore only remains to consider the last objection, in order to see whether the prerogative of the crown has been abused in grants of pensions on this establishment, and of course, whether my honourable friend's bill be necessary or not.

Now, Sir, the present pension list amounts to above 95,000*l.* a year; and after the best information I could collect, I do not find that it was ever pretended the crown had an arbitrary power of disposing of more than 15,000*l.* a year of the public revenues; so that on the present list there appears to be an unwarrantable profusion of about 80,000*l.* a year.—A monstrous excess for an impoverished country; and sufficient to justify the present bill, if we looked merely to the amount of our pension list. But, Sir, it is not that amount, however great, which alarms me, it is the mode in which those pensions are granted, and the object of the grants, that I am alarmed at; though, at the same time, I am convinced that many individuals of splendid character and indisputable merit are to be found in the motley catalogue.

But, Sir, if a member of this House may once become the pensioner of the crown, the constitution must begin to totter, and a confusion of characters ensue, that can only end in the disgrace of the representative body of the people, and the dishonour of the crown.

I have within those walls heard the wisdom and the policy of the British nation commended in terms of high and merited applause—Suffer me then for once to remind this House of what has been the wisdom and the policy of that nation with respect to some part of the subject-matter of the present debate. In Great Britain no man who accepts of a pension from the crown, during pleasure or for a term of years, is capable of becoming a member of the British House of Commons; and the act enacting such incapacity does in its preamble recite, that “it was intended for securing the honour of the British House of Commons.”

The same noble principle pervades the whole system of British legislation—it is the vital spirit of their constitution; they know it to be so, and they guard it accordingly with a religious attention and devotion; and once—once—this House adopted that principle in its full force; when you passed your bill for securing the independency of the judges, what was its preamble? Why this: “Whereas the independency of the judges of the land is essential to the impartial administration of justice, and highly conducive to the support of the honour of the crown, and the security of the rights and liberties of the people.” Now, Sir, what does this so clearly and obviously import? Why that the legislature of

this country considered the judges of the land, as then circumstanced, to be the dependents of the crown; that in their hands the administration of justice was insecure. If then the expounders of the laws, those who were only entrusted with the execution and the interpretation of them, ought not (as surely they ought not) to be left any wise dependent upon the crown; if their independency was essentially necessary to the impartial administration of justice; good God, Sir, ought not those who are to make the laws, which the judges are only to execute, to be at least equally independent of the crown? Can it be deemed safe to the state that the maker of the law should be dependent, while the legislature of our country has explicitly and nobly declared, that "the rights and liberties of the subject, and the honour of the crown, would be insecure until the venerable sages to whom the interpretation and administration of the law was committed, were rendered completely independent of the crown."

Sir, I have detained you and the House too long; I shall only add to what I have said, the excellent adjuration of a celebrated writer, "let us be loyal, but free; obedient, yet independent; let us reverence the crown, but guard with religious caution against the servile and corrupt influence of those who are entrusted with its authority."

Mr. MASON, in reply to Mr. Smith, said that the gentleman had wasted much time and labour in enlarging on the independence of parliament, and the dependence of pensioners, which were nothing to the purpose, as the disqualifying of pensioners from sitting in parliament was not one of the objects of the bill; that he also was mistaken in his assertion, that 15,000*l.* a year only of the hereditary revenue was applicable to the payment of pensions. He acknowledged that in the preambles of some of the acts which grant the hereditary revenue, there are words which may be construed to imply a special, or at least a general appropriation, but that there were other branches of revenue which certainly were not subject to any appropriation; that the casual and other revenues to which his Majesty was entitled by common law could not possibly be subject to such appropriation. These branches, however, were of little amount, not exceeding in the whole 15,000*l.* a year; but, he said, there was another great branch of revenue, producing above 60,000*l.* a year, he meant the quit rents, which were never appropriated to any public service, nor were ever granted by the people to the crown.

Every man must know the distracted state that this country was in at the time of the restoration, and how impossible it was to reduce it to any kind of settlement, unless his Majesty, King Charles II. should relinquish his claim to the immense forfeitures which devolved upon the crown in consequence of the rebellion of 1641; and accordingly the king, in his declaration from Breda, surren-

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dered his claim to the forfeited lands, reserving out of them a certain acreable rent, as a small compensation for the rights which he resigned; and this declaration of the king was afterwards recorded in the act of settlement. It is evident, therefore, that the quit-rents were never granted by the people, but were part of the forfeiture reserved by the king, when he sacrificed the rest to the welfare of his subjects. The quit-rents, therefore, must necessarily partake of the nature of the forfeited lands themselves, and remain, as they were, the absolute feudal property of the crown. That there was another great branch of revenue, equal in produce to the quit-rents, which was not subject to any appropriation, that is, the hearth-money. The hearth-money was granted in order that the public revenue might be in some measure apportioned to the public charges, and is a full compensation to his Majesty for the profits arising from the courts and the military tenures which were then suppressed. And as the profits arising from those ancient rights were the feudal property of the crown, the duties granted in compensation of them should in justice be considered in that light also.

Mr. CORRY said he congratulated the House on ministry having at length condescended, upon the question of pensions, to speak to parliament. Their conduct was different in that respect on this day, from what it had been on the two former days, when this question was moved, and demanded that attention should be paid to every thing, which fell from them in the shape of argument, in opposition to the present bill. One species of argument had been touched upon with great dexterity, since it was in appearance used as an argument, but was in fact declined as a foundation on which to build any reasoning; and every learned gentleman who had spoke had shewn how sensibly he had felt its futility—it was what respected the prerogative of the crown.—That the prerogative of the crown was subject to the superintendence and controul of parliament, none of them had ventured to deny. The power of parliament over the prerogative was too firmly established to admit of a question; not a power of limiting it only, but also a power of superintending its exercise within the limits and bounds already set to it. This superintendence forming the characteristic, distinguishing ours from an absolute monarchy, and the notoriety of those limits and bounds forming, as a great writer observes, one chief boast of our constitution; to deny that superintendence and controul, what would it be but again to set up unlimited power and passive obedience; a doctrine for ever exploded with that unhappy family, who foolishly setting up the divine right of kings, fell a sacrifice to the sacred energy of that constitution which they blasphemed; but upon that point no reliance is placed, therefore no confusion necessary.—The arguments used by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last

are of another description, drawn from acts of parliament, accompanied with statements, which I must beg leave to controvert. The right honourable gentleman has stated certain branches of the hereditary revenue to be vested in the crown, subject to certain vague and general expressions, not amounting to appropriation; and other branches of the revenue to be vested without any terms, either of general or special appropriation or limitation whatsoever. Of the latter kind he has stated the quit-rents, the hearth-money, and the casual revenue; as to the quit-rents and hearth-money, I deny the assertion, and will, with the leave of the House, prove the reverse to be the fact; convinced, however, that the want of recollecting the fact, not any intention of mistating, is the cause of the statement that has been made; for I have too much respect for that right honourable gentleman's character to impute any intentions but the fairest on all occasions; and too much respect for his information, not to endeavour to correct the error which he may lead the House into on this point.—The hereditary revenue, as it is called, is part of it under the common law, and part under the statute law: And here let me beg leave to remark, that a very erroneous notion has been annexed to the word hereditary—the duties called hereditary have been falsely supposed to be the private property of the crown.—The true meaning of the word, by common acceptance, is perpetual—it relates to the extent or continuance of those duties so called, not to the interest or estate which the crown takes in them.—The words granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, are words making them hereditary, it is true, but the very same words are used in every money bill of every session, granting the additional duties for one year; and therefore those temporary duties are as much hereditary for the time for which they were granted as the perpetual duties are; in that very respect they are equal and the same; in continuance they are different; and therefore hereditary is meant to express perpetual, as commonly used, and not the estate or interest of the crown in the duties. What must be taken from the words of the statutes, granting them where granted by statute? But all, whether by statute or common law, are besides constitutionally subject to the inquisitorial controuling investigation of parliament. These perpetual duties are to comply with the common phrase; these hereditary duties are some of them by the common law, and some by statute law; of the former are the casual revenue, consisting of fines, forfeitures, wrecks, warfs, estrays, treasure trove, gold and silver mines, deodands. The prirage of wines is also by prescription; as are a certain species of rents, viz. crown-rents, which were reserved out of the grants of lands made by Henry VIII. formerly belonging to the monasteries which he suppressed; the port corn rents likewise, which were rents payable out of those lands to the monasteries, while subsisting; the composition rents,

settled with commissioners appointed for that purpose by Queen Elizabeth, to be paid in lieu of quarterage, and other services relating to the army, in certain parts of the kingdom. These are all therefore without any appropriation, general or special, being by prescription or common law. Those under the statute law are the quit-rents, excise, customs, hearth-money, ale and beer licenses, and wine and strong water licenses. The statute granting the last is, I fairly acknowledge, without any words of appropriation; but from the title, preamble, and from the inconsiderable sale of either strong waters or wine in this country, in the years when they were granted, namely, the 16th and 17th of Charles II. this clearly appears to have been an act of regulation, and not of revenue worthy of any appropriation.—The same cannot be said of any other of those duties: As to the quit-rents, they have been stated by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, to be under the common law; they are not only not so, but they are appropriated by statute to public services of government only. The quit-rents were rents reserved out of the grants of lands forfeited by the rebellion of 1641; and the right honourable gentleman will find that they were expressly appropriated for the public service, and by act of parliament declared to be for ever to be retained for that use, without being subject to any alienation, gift, grant, or pension whatsoever; and if he wishes to know the statute, it is by the 11th and 12th of William III.

Mr. MASON rose and said he was aware the honourable gentleman [Mr. Corry] would allude to that statute; but he got up to inform him that that was an English statute, and not of force here; and he hoped the honourable gentleman was not an advocate for the force of English statutes binding Ireland.

Mr. CORRY said he thanked the honourable gentleman for his information; he knew it was an English statute, and in return he would lead the right honourable gentleman's recollection back two sessions of parliament, to inform him that on the restoration of the Irish constitution an act had been introduced by a right honourable gentleman, then a member of that House, and now presiding in a court of justice, by which that statute, and all others of the same description, became law in Ireland, and therefore the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down must, if he denied the force of the 11th and 12th of William the Third, deny at the same time the authority of the parliament of Ireland to make laws to bind Ireland, which he could not by any possibility deny, and therefore he could not deny that the statute mentioned is in force here. He then shewed that the quit-rents remained appropriated by statute to the public services of the government of the country. He then went through all the other branches of the hereditary revenue, under the statutes, as passed in the 14th and 15th of

Charles II. and read from each the appropriations ; he read also the clauses expressly prohibiting the application of the hearth-money to any gift, grant, or pension whatever, which he trusted would shew that the right honourable gentleman had mistated, though inadvertently, he was sure, that part of the revenue. Having gone through the whole of the hereditary revenue, he adverted to the arguments used by another honourable gentleman [Mr. George Ponsonby] on that side of the House ; the compliments he paid to the mover, though he spoke in opposition to the bill, were well deserved by his honourable friend, but he could not agree that the arguments against the measure were equally well founded ; the ability with which they were selected was to be acknowledged by the right honourable gentleman, in support of whose administration they were used, but the candour with which they were propounded certainly merited the thanks of this side of the House. One argument was founded on a statement made of the pension list into classes, of which classes one was stated to contain pensions arising from the prodigality and unconstitutional influence of the minister, and the corrupt solicitations of the holders ; and this class he stated to consist of 40,000*l.* only. In fact, the honourable gentleman had disposed of only 40,000*l.* out of 95,000*l.* the amount of the list, among the other classes he had thought proper to distinguish the list into, and therefore in fact 55,000*l.* remained for the class of profligate and corrupt ; the support of the honourable gentleman's argument therefore was to prove the moderation of only 55,000*l.* of that list being dedicated to the profligate and corrupt out of the public purse, and that moderation he had the modesty to offer to the House, as decisive for refusing to controul the power of the minister, to add to the list of profligacy and corruption, avowed on the part of the minister by the honourable gentleman. Another argument was taken from a statement of the progressive encrease of the civil list in England, from 800,000*l.* while the monarchial expences of the government of Ireland were less than that of any other country of the same riches and consideration. As to the new term of monarchial expences, however it might flow naturally out of the opinions and principles of the present administration, he did not understand it. If it meant expences different from the constitutional government expences of the country ; or if it was a new term to insinuate any new idea respecting the constitutional government expences of the country, he equally reprobated the doctrine of the first, or the insinuation of the latter. He said that great difference there certainly was in the amount of civil expences ; so there was in many other respects between the two countries.—England had eight million of inhabitants to pay those expences, while Ireland had but three million.—England had a peace establishment of perhaps 14,000,000*l.* Ireland not a great deal above 1,000,000*l.*—

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England raised from 10 to 12,000,000*l.* of taxes, Ireland little above 1,000,000*l.*—England had an immense navy, Ireland not a ship.—Observe then, with all this inequality, and the immense disproportion of means, how you stand. With all the inferiority of Ireland in every other respect, as to general expence, can it be acknowledged, without confusion, that the pension list of Ireland should exceed in amount the pension list of England? And yet this proportional comparison has been used as an argument against stopping the increase of charges on the civil list of Ireland, and on this occasion against stopping the growth of pensions already exceeding the pensions of England.

But let us look a little nearer into the situation of our finance, in order to see whether there is ground in that for forbearing to stop the growth of expence, or to place confidence in the present ministry unrestrained. Wherever you turn your eyes increase of expence presents itself—the civil establishment is increased collectively, and every item of it is advanced in particular—not only pensions, but also management of revenues, revenue incidents, revenue salaries, revenue charges under new heads, concordatum, military contingencies, barracks. It would be tedious to the House to enter into figures, and therefore I will state only these two facts: The estimates for the year, ending in March, 1786, made by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer for that year, are exceeded in almost every article by the actual expences in a considerable proportion. The estimates for 1787, made by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, exceed the estimates of 1786 in a considerable proportion; and if the same excess of expence above estimate is to take place in 1787, as did in the last year, the increase will be of a magnitude very considerable indeed; and there is no reason that it should be supposed otherwise, since the excess above the estimate in the expences of 1786 has passed as matter of course, unapologized by ministry; but to take it strongest against myself, I will take the estimate as the expence of the year, ending March 1787, and how do things stand?—The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the last session, stated your revenues for the year 1786, at

£.1,010,000

The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the present session, stated your revenues for the year 1787, at

924,000

Defalcation of revenue,

86,000

The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the last session, stated your expence for the year 1786, at

938,000

The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the present session, stated your expences for the year 1787, at

1,005,000

Increase of expence	-	-	£.66,000
To which add defalcation of revenue,	-	-	86,000

And there will be made good by parliament, in the next session, if the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is well founded, a sum of

£.152,000

Through all of which I am ready to go step by step with the right honourable gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Does this conclude in favour of the growth of pensions, and against the bill moved? Or does it inspire much confidence in the ministry unrestrained? As to confidence in ministry it is become now too trite, a jargon—it is the stale prologue to the ministerial farce of every administration—it is, or rather has been, in former parliaments (for this is pure) the flimsy mask to cover the bargain of the member of parliament with the minister—it is to see with the eyes, and hear with the ears, and speak by the mouth of the minister—it is that which the minister, while he is here, pays for, and which, when he goes away, he laughs at and despises—it is the livery of the minister of the hour, which so disgraces the wearer, that after the man has left you, whom in your country you deify into the object of your faith, it will not allow him to acknowledge you in his own as an acquaintance, or as a gentleman—it is that which has made former secretaries describe former parliaments as mean in their pursuits, and uninformed in their understandings; as greedy of the emoluments of office, and ignorant of the affairs of their country; as negligent of public estimation, and postponing every thing to private interest; as scoffing at public virtue in the abstract, and damning it in the individual, and thereby not only sacrificing the interest of their own times, but blasting the seeds of hope and safety to the constitution to all security; as a set of men base enough to undertake any service, poor enough to receive any reward, and profligate enough to avow any prostitution.—Nay, it has been said that such men have had the audacity to sit as judges on their own criminality; and unappalled, to discharge, in the eyes of the public, those base and profligate services—the base and profligate wages for which were the subject of present parliamentary discussion, as they were of broad and universal execration. Such is the livery of confidence; but what claim has been made for this confidence by any of those able men, and many there are who support the minister? Where in respect of constitution? Where in respect of trade? Where in respect of internal good government, or of external enlargement of commerce?—Had there been such claims, they would have been stated on former days, when this question was moved; when that confidence was demanded without the foundation of a single specific act to found

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a claim upon, or was the contemptible figure they then made a ground of voluntary confidence.—On that occasion, those amongst them the most grave in authority, and most respectable for years, who have fought many a tough battle in many a desperate cause in this House, turned over the volume of their experience in vain to find out a precedent that might justify, or any thing that might palliate the conduct of the ministry of the day.—The more enterprising and adventurous spirit of youth, that had been known to beard the constitution itself, and to support doctrines the most unpopular, because the most unconstitutional, shrunk from the service.—The steady ranks of those steady to come forward to support every measure of every minister, found the service too desperate for their desperate resolution, and the minister himself, unsupported by any friend or any argument, was seen to shrink from the power of my honourable friends on this side of the House, into silence and insignificance, an easy victim in the contemptible situation of a self-convicted and self-condemned culprit. Such was the appearance that is to command our confidence. But the manner of your administration of public monies, and of your public revenues, demands not only this but other measures, when you consider the claims of the minister and his practice; claims, not of the prince, but of the secretary. To support the dignity of the crown, and the dignity of the prince, or his royal family, I am sure every man who hears me would go to the extent of the claims of liberality itself, but as it is, your revenues present an open bank to the profusion of every secretary. Your exceedings on concordatum, military contingencies, and barracks, what are they but unlimited letters of credit brought over in the pocket of every secretary, on the treasury of the prince and the property of the people?—The report on these, by the committee of accounts, in every session, what is it but a blank indorsement on the part of parliament on the bill of prodigality or plunder of the secretary; the posthumous grant, made afterwards in every session, of monies already spent without the consent of parliament, what is it but holding up the forms of the constitution, to screen unauthorised prodigality, and to convert the unwarranted profusion of the minister into the solemn act of the parliament?—As a step to remedy these abuses I vote for this bill.

Mr. BERESFORD.—I do not rise at this hour of the night to enter at large into the debate, but to make some observations on something that has fallen from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, on the other side of the House, who has misrepresented and misapplied the acts of parliament he has quoted, but not intentionally, I am certain.

A learned gentleman who spoke before him, asserted that there is no part of the king's inherent revenue which can be applied to

the payment of pensions, except the casual revenue, amounting to about 15,000*l.* a year, and the honourable gentleman who spoke last has gone into a long detail to prove that none of the revenues, save only such as he has mentioned, are liable, or can be applied to the payment of pensions.

He has divided the king's revenue into common law and statute revenue, and has allowed that the common law revenue, which he says consists of the casual revenue, is subject to such payment.

Of all the revenues granted to the crown by statute, he has asserted that none are applicable to the payment of pensions, save only the amount of licences; and he has, in order to prove his assertion, quoted to you certain words of limitation, in the several acts which he says tie up the hands of government from applying these several revenues to any other than certain public purposes therein contained.

I differ in opinion with the honourable gentleman, and shall endeavour to shew that there are revenues which are not tied up by any words of limitation, and which are sufficient for the payment of the pensions, were they double their present amount.

I must observe in the first place, that it has been allowed by both gentlemen, that the casual revenue is subject to them, and this is about 15,000*l.* or 16,000*l.* a year.

The honourable gentleman admits that the revenue arising from licences is also unappropriated—this may be from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* a year.

I shall not enter into a dispute whether the quit-rents are or are not liable to them; but I shall go at once to the revenue of customs, and shew that the words of limitation, quoted by the honourable gentleman, does not apply to the customs at large.

The honourable gentleman has referred us to the act of customs, and desires us to begin at the second section. Now, in my opinion, the best way to understand an act of parliament is not by beginning at the second or third section, but by first reading the title, then the preamble, and so on quite through.

But first, Sir, I must observe, that the king was entitled to, and did receive a revenue of custom at common law, and that the act which has been quoted does not create or grant that revenue, and the very title of the act shews this—It is entitled an act for settling the subsidy of poundage, and granting a subsidy of tonnage and other sums of money to his royal Majesty, his heirs and successors; and the act begins by stating, that for as much as by the laws of this realm our sovereign lord the king, and his heirs, are to have revenue, and to levy one subsidy of poundage—That is to say, of all and every twenty shillings worth of all manner of merchandize and wares brought into or sent out of his kingdom of

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Ireland, 12d. lawful money of England, wine and oil only excepted.

Now it appears clearly from both the title and preamble, that this act does not make a new grant to the crown, but is an act of regulation, not of grant; and the preamble fairly states the pre-existing right in the crown to the revenue so settled by this act.

What, Sir, is this settlement? Is it a limitation of power of the crown? No, the act tells you what it is; for as much as the prices of such merchandizes and wares are uncertain, and the subsidy of poundage of the same not possible to be had, received and levied in so singular a way as the nature of such an affair doth require, unless some certain rates be conveyed according to which such subsidy shall be paid: they accordingly establish the book of rates, by which all goods shall pay 1s. for every 20s. of their rated value: It appears therefore that the right of the crown remained the same over this revenue that it was before.

Now, Sir, to come to the second section, quoted by the right honourable gentleman:—I say this section contains a new grant, a grant of a further poundage of 1s. upon merchants, strangers, and aliens over and above the poundage before mentioned; and also a further grant of a tonnage duty; and here, Sir, I confess that there is a special application of this new grant to the guarding and defending of the seas, but that does not go by any means to the ancient revenue of customs belonging to the crown.—[Here a cry, not by common law]—Sir, I know very well that before the act of the 14th and 15th Car. II. there was a statute granting to the crown a poundage duty.

I know that the 15th of Henry VII. granted to the crown a duty of poundage at the rate of 12d. for every 20s. worth of merchandize, but neither in this act is there one word of limitation of the power of the crown, so that whether the gentleman takes the right of the crown either upon the one act or the other, there are no words limiting the power of the crown over their revenue, or restraining the crown in any manner from granting pensions on it.

Here then is a revenue of about 200,000l. a year belonging to the crown, and not restrained or limited by any words of any act of parliament; and if to this be added the casual revenue and the amount of licenses, there is a revenue of about 250,000l. unrestrained by any act of parliament.

I do not wish to take up more of the time of the House; I think I have shewn enough, and shall decline going any further into the subject.

Mr. GRATTAN.—Sir, the gentlemen who have urged the most plausible argument against the bill, have not taken the trouble to read it. They say that it gives up the controul of parliament over such pensions as shall not exceed the limits of the bill.—No such

thing—your controul cannot be given up without exprefs words, but here there are exprefs words to save it: here, aware of such a pretence, and that no colour should be given for such an objection, the preamble states the nature of the pensions which are to have any existence at all, “such as are allowed by parliament.” This objection being answered by the bill, I must advert to another, which has nothing to say to the bill.

A right honourable member has declared the bill to be the most exceptionable that ever came into parliament, and his reason for this most extraordinary declaration is most singular indeed, “because it restrains the ministers of the crown and leaves the pension list open to both Houses of Parliament.”—From thence he infers that a practice of profusion will ensue, and from hence you would infer that the pension list was not now open to the addresses of both or either of the Houses of Parliament; but the fact is, that the evil he deprecates, now exists; that the bill does not give, but finds and leaves a power to both Houses of Parliament to address on such subjects. As the matter now stands, both or either of the Houses of Parliament may address for such charges, and the minister may also impose such charges with such addresses. You are thus exposed to the two causes of expence, the power of address in us, and the unlimited power of pensioning without address in the minister; and the right honourable gentleman thinks you will encrease profusion by removing one of its causes;—the principal cause—the notorious cause—the unlimited power of the minister, the most constant, operative and plentiful source of prodigality. In the same argument he adds, that the power of parliament in disposing of the public money, ruined this country, when there was a redundancy in the treasury, by serving the purposes of jobbing aristocracy. According to him, then, the greatest evils which can befall this country are a surplus in the treasury, and a restraint on the prodigality of the minister.—A prosperity which produces redundancy, and a constitutional bill which restrains the unlimited grants of the crown, is his receipt for the ruin of Ireland. In the course of this argument my right honourable friend has spoken of economy; Sir, a friend of mine the other night moved a resolution on the principle of economy, “that your expence should not exceed your income;” his motion was founded on an obvious maxim, that in ordinary years a government should be restrained by its own estimate of expence and revenue; his motion was rejected on two idle arguments:—That unforeseen emergencies might arise, was one argument; but neither the complexion nor situation of the times warranted the apprehension of danger, and therefore the argument, if it had no corruption in contemplation, was fictitious and idle.—The other argument against my friend’s motion was, that the maxims of economy were adopted already by the present administration.—

On what foundation, fact or authority such an argument was advanced, the catalogue of pensions can best determine. Those pensions are not words, but facts. I always conceived that the public treasure was, like the people's liberty, to be guarded rather by law than confidence, and I thought the new taxes a good opportunity for establishing such a safeguard. I thought that such a confidence without such a safeguard would encourage administration at last into acts of profusion, but I could not think the act of profusion would accompany the professions of economy and the grants of the people. I could not foresee that peculation would attend the birth of the tax. I will consider this peculation or the new catalogue of pensions, and then the bill—first the grievance, then the remedy.

See how this grievance will naturally affect the people: They will perhaps be inclined to think that they see in such a measure the old school revived—the old spirit of plunder renewed, when government in Ireland was nothing but the division of spoil.—They will remember that they have given new taxes, and that they have not received the commerce which was I say promised, or the economy which was professed; in short, they will see that you have gotten their money, and have given them, as compensation, a new list of pensions.

See how this grievance may affect the British government: When the British minister sees that he has incurred the odium of the new taxes and of their misapplication, he will naturally expect that his influence at least is augmented; but when he finds that he has added nothing to his power, he will lament this attack on his credit. The British government will recollect, that to remove the causes of discontent and jealousy in Ireland, Great Britain surrendered her assumed supremacy. Perhaps that government will not think itself well used in the present attempt to revive Irish jealousy, by the unnecessary peculation of their servants in Ireland.

See again how this grievance affects the Irish ministry. Why give Ireland a grievance for no object on earth, but to lessen the credit of the Irish government? Gentlemen speak of reflection—that catalogue is the reflection.—You cannot conceal, nor justify, nor extenuate; your connivance would be aggravation. The name of his excellency has been introduced to sway debate; his friends come in too late to serve him on this subject; they should have dissuaded him from giving the offence; they should have told his excellency that his list of pensioners would be prejudicial to his fame, and was unnecessary to his support; that the profit went to others, and the scandal to the government.

While I protest against this measure as a most disinterested act of profusion on the part of government, and therefore as an act of the most superlative folly, yet, will I say more of his Grace the

Duke of Rutland; more than his own servants have said of him; they have said of him on this subject, what is ever said, that he is a Lord Lieutenant in the right; I say he is an honest man in the wrong, which is better.

Having stated the grievance as far as affects the three interests concerned, I shall consider the defence; and first, it is advanced that the pension list of Ireland is comparatively small—small if you compare it to the royal establishments of England, or other countries.

I directly controvert that position; it is comparatively great; for it is this moment equal to the pension list of Great Britain; compare it to your hereditary revenue, and it is above one-third of the net produce of that revenue; and in the course of thirty years it has encreased more than double.—Another argument advanced in its defence, tells you that the new pension list, or the last catalogue, is small; Sir, it is greater than the produce of your new tax on hawkers and pedlars. Why continue that tax? Because government could not spare it. Why waste that tax? When I see the state repose itself on beggars, I pity and submit. But when I see the state give away its taxes thus eviscerated from the poor; when I see government come to the poor man's hovel for a part of his loaf to scatter it; when I see government tax the pedlar to pamper the pensioner, I blush for the extortion of the state, and reprobate an offence that may be well called prodigality of rapine.

Sir, when gentlemen say that the new charge for pensions is small, let me assure them they need not be alarmed; the charge will be much greater; for, unless your interposition should deter, what else is there to check it?—Will public poverty? No.—New taxes? No.—Gratitude for those taxes? No.—Principle? No.—Profession? No.—The love of fame, or sense of infamy? No.—Confined to no one description of merit or want of character, under the authority of that list, every man, woman, and child in Ireland have pretensions to become a public incumbrance; so that since government went so far, I marvel that they have stopped, unless the pen fell out of their hand, from fatigue, for it could not be from principle.

No, Sir, this list will go on; it will go on till the merchant shall feel it; until the manufacturer shall feel it; until the pension list shall take into its own hand the keys of taxation; and instead of taxing license to sell, shall tax the article and manufacture itself; until we shall lose our great commercial resource, a comparative exemption from taxes, the gift of our poverty, and get an accumulation of taxes to be the companion of our poverty; until public indignation shall cry shame upon us, and the morality of a serious and offended community shall call out for the interposition of law.

As a further defence of this grievance, it is said that the House of Commons have, from time to time, addressed for pensions, and contributed to the incumbrance:—If those addresses were improper, government was guilty of covin in not opposing the addresses in parliament, and the argument then proposes an emulation of reciprocal expence, and the exhortation to mutual rapine. —If, on the other hand, these addresses were proper, the argument amounts to this, that there are many necessary charges on the pension list, therefore there should be more that are unnecessary, and the greater the public charge on the revenues, the greater should be the misapplication. In the same spirit gentlemen have relied on bounties and the scrambling committee. The fact, however, is, that the corn bounty is greatly diminished, and the scrambling committee is extinct; but suppose the fact to be otherwise, what is the argument but a proposal to parliament to have the nation a victim to jobs on the one hand; and to pensions on the other.

In defence of this incumbrance it is further advanced, that old quality should be supported—Admitted—I have no personal dislike to any individual of the new catalogue.

I have for some great respect and love—the first name did honour to the chair, and is an honour to the parliament that provides for him—As to old quality, why not bring back the great Irish offices now in the hands of absentees, and give old quality great places instead of little pensions?—Again, why the one under that description considered so late, and the other so little? But is the merit of four or five of this catalogue the qualification of nineteen, unless qualification, like the plague, is caught by contagion.

Sir, in so very numerous a list it is almost impossible that some meritorious persons should not have been obtruded, and yet in so numerous a list it is astonishing there should be so few of that description. One pension of that description I well remember; it suggests to me other considerations than those which such a list would naturally inspire—I mean the pension to the family of the late Chief Baron.—I moved for that pension; I did it from a natural and instinctive feeling; I came to this House from his hearse: What concern first suggested, reason afterwards confirmed. Do I lament that pension? Yes;—because in it I lament the mortality of noble emulation—of delightful various endowments—and above all, because I feel the absence of him who, if now here, would have inspired this debate, would have asserted your privileges, exposed the false pretences of prerogative, and have added one angelic voice to the councils of the nation.

Having considered the pension list as a grievance, I shall now trouble you with some observations on the remedy, namely, the

bill which my friend proposes on the spur of the present expence, grounding himself on the example of England. In opposition to his bill, some gentlemen of this House have come forth in the rusty armour of old prerogative, and have stated this attempt to reform abuses by bill, as an invasion of the sacred rights of the crown.——Sir, I apprehend that parliament may and ought to remedy abuses, even though they are not in themselves illegal. On this principle it was that the judges bill was passed; on this principle the habeas corpus bill in Ireland was passed; and on this principle many of the best laws in England have passed. Abuses which obtain under colour of law are best rectified in parliament.

When the Commons of England had returned to their House from a decisive answer given by Charles I. to the petition of right, they began to consider the state of the nation in all the various management of the king's prerogative; a message was delivered through their Speaker from the king, to admonish them not to cast reflections on his government, or to enter into the affairs of the state. Sir Edward Coke observed on that message:—"It is the business of this House to moderate the king's prerogative. Nothing which reacheth to abuse, that may not be treated of here."——This principle is particularly applicable to cases of money, over which you by special privilege preside; and still more applicable to cases of your own revenues, because they are appropriated. A right honourable member has contradicted this; he says that however the new customs and excise may be appropriated, yet that the old customs are under no appropriation whatsoever; and he says further, that formerly the king had a right to them by common law, and he states that they amount to 200,000*l.* per annum; but the right honourable member is not warranted either by the laws or the constitution of his country in the doctrine which he has ventured to advance.—Charles I. thought indeed, like the right honourable member, that the king was entitled to tonnage and poundage by common law, but the parliament of England differed from both, and resolved such levies to be illegal, and the persons who, thinking like the member, had been concerned therein, to be delinquents.——Nay, the old customs to the king makes an exception; and the qualification of a grant in any degree, usually bespeaks the poverty of the grantor; the member therefore seems not to have adverted sufficiently, either to the statute law or the constitution of his country. The statute of Charles II. which grants the new customs, and which also the member does not appear entirely to understand, seems to consolidate the new and old customs, and appropriate both to one and the same purpose.—After reciting the old grant, and establishing a common book of rates, it says, "And for the better guarding and defending of the seas,"—and then it proceeds to grant the new customs: The words "better guarding

the seas" bespeak the appropriation both to one and the same purpose, and is a term of connection between the old and new customs, making them a common fund for the defence of the seas.—But I might yield all this—I might allow that the hereditary revenue is not appropriated—that the act of customs does not mean the guarding the seas, nor the act of excise the pay of the army. Yet is the hereditary revenue the estate of the nation, of which the first magistrate is but a trustee for public purposes.—It is not the private property of the king, but the public revenue, and any diversion thereof is a crime. The great Duke of Buckingham was impeached for such a crime; one article of his impeachment was the grant of several pensions to himself and his friends out of the revenue, and one criminal pension in the schedule was a charge on the old customs of Ireland. At an earlier period the Duke of Suffolk was impeached, and one charge was the grant of pensions to himself and his friends. At an earlier period in the reign of Richard II. an Earl of Oxford was impeached for grants to himself and his friends; the crime is called interception of subsidy; whereby the realm was left undefended, and grants like yours for the defence thereof, wasted on individuals, while the people were doubly taxed, as you are, to make up the wanton deficiency.

Thus does it appear that in cases concerning pensions by prerogative, the commons have interfered; though prerogative in those cases might plead that the revenues out of which these grants arose, were wholly unappropriated; but a public grant appropriates itself to the public use; and the parliament that proceeds either to punish or to controll the diversion thereof, does not invade the prerogative of the crown, but exercises the privilege of the commons, in guarding the inheritance of the nation. In reforming such abuses, you may proceed in your inquisitorial capacity, as the greatest inquest of the nation, by impeachment, or in your legislative capacity, by bill; the latter is the milder method—my friend adopts it; and proceeds rather to reform than to punish.—You tell him that we have submitted to this grievance for a long time. It is true; but a course of toleration and impunity, neither constitute innocence, nor draws out the sting of a grievance; it is true, you have submitted to this grievance for a long time. Hence the many erroneous arguments of this night—The public inheritance has been so diverted to private purposes, by a series of ministers, that we have forgotten the proprietor in the misapplication of the property, and talk of the estate, as of the private patrimony of the king—Hence these prerogatives of rapine!—these rights of plunder!—the authority of the king, to be robbed by his own servants of the common stock!—Hence it is, that gentlemen have set up the shadow of prerogative as a sentinel to public robbery,

When gentlemen call this bill an attack on the prerogative of the crown, they are answered by the principles of the constitution ; but they are also answered by a precedent of the most decisive nature ; and that precedent is this very bill, which is now the law of England. By the law of England no pensioner for years, or during pleasure, can sit in parliament ; and by the law of England the amount of pensions is limited. The first law passed at the time of the revolution, and was improved in the reign of Queen Anne : The latter passed in 1782, with the entire concurrence of these very persons who now constitute this administration ; and yet the argument of prerogative would have been stronger in England, because there a civil list had been granted to the king, and the subsequent limitation of pensions on that list seemed a revocation of the powers of the grant.—On what authority then, or pretence, do gentlemen call a measure which they supported as necessary for England, an invasion of the rights of the crown, when proposed for the benefit of Ireland ? What pretence have they for such partial doctrine of unequal measure ? As if that was infringement in Ireland, which in England was constitution ; or as if what was moderation in the people of England, would be in those of Ireland arrogance and presumption.

This leads me to another objection on which gentlemen much relied, that this bill is an innovation—a new constitution ; to admit the undue influence of the crown in parliament, and to control the excess of expence—an innovation !—It is an encroachment most certainly, an encroachment on corruption, an invasion on the ancient privileges of venality ; it is the old constitution encroaching and innovating on long established dishonest practices and accumulating expences. All these expences and practices it seems we have already sanctified ; we voted the other night that neither in their excess or application were they a grievance. Sir, I will not presume to censure a vote of this House, but I may be permitted to explain that vote ; we could not mean by that vote that the present pension list was no grievance, for there was no man in debate hardy enough to make such an assertion ; no man considers what that pension list is ; it is the prodigality, jobbing, misapplication, and corruption of every Irish minister since 1727.—To say that such a list was not either in its excess or application a grievance, was to declare that since that period (that is above half a century) all your ministers were immaculate, or rather, indeed, that God had governed you himself, and had never sent you a minister in his anger.

I declare I could not affirm the innocence of the list, because I should be guilty of affirming what I conceive to be false. Do gentlemen think otherwise ?—Let them take their catalogue in one hand, and place on their heart the other ; let them look this nation in the face, and in that posture declare that the present Irish pen-

tion list is not either in its excess or application a grievance ! They could not do it ; they have voted what they would not say. I dissented from their vote, but I went along with their conviction.

Mr. BERESFORD rose to explain, and said—Sir, the honourable gentlemen on the other side of the House having very much misrepresented what I said, have made it necessary for me to rise again in explanation ; but I shall be very short.

It has been asserted, that I said that the crown had a revenue of customs at common law at this day, upon which it could grant pensions. Sir, I never said any such thing ; but I do not wonder my words are misquoted or misrepresented, when acts of parliament are so. I am not so foolish as to quote acts of parliament without knowing what they contain, nor so bold as to assert they contain what they do not. I have often, as it is my duty, read the act of customs, as it is called, and I know that it contains a clause that the tonnage and poundage mentioned in that act, and no other, shall thereafter be levied, excepted always and foreprized prize and butterage.

Now, Sir, knowing that this clause existed, I never did or could assert that there now existed a poundage at common law, over which the crown had a right, or on which it would grant pensions.

Gentlemen on the other side of the House have made this a point, and put the business of the day on this issue, that all the revenues of the crown were by special words, in the acts granting them, limited to special purposes, and therefore not applicable to the payment of such pensions as might be granted by the crown—I have endeavoured to shew the fact is otherwise, and I trust I have done so.

The right honourable gentleman has asserted that the revenue of customs or poundage is limited by the act of 15th Hen. VII. I utterly deny the fact—I desire the act may be read—I say the honourable gentleman has misrepresented the act—I assert there is not a word of limitation in the act ; and if the honourable gentleman says there is, I will have the act read, which I assert has been misrepresented.

Mr. BUSHE said it was no impeachment either of the administration itself, or of the sincerity of his friends, if such general invectives as he had heard that night were often suffered to pass unanswered.—There could be no reply ; government ought to answer it by nothing but its conduct. He had sat a good many years in parliament, in times when opposition was all powerful, and in times when the revenue and resources of the state were utterly inadequate to its expences, but it was remarkable that the only attempt to bring in a new constitution with respect to pensions was the present, and in the only year when we had a reasonable hope of living within our income. In nine years there had been an en-

crease of the pension list of above 7000*l.* annually, 5000*l.* of which had been addressed for by parliament, and of a part of the remainder gentlemen on the other side of the House had expressed themselves in very pointed terms of approbation. As to the small residue, he could tell the motives on which they had been granted, but he did not think that ignorance alone was a sufficient ground of condemnation. The best encomium on government was, that such a subject could take up the time of the House for three days, after having been so long neglected. To go over that old ground again bespoke a marvellous dearth of grievances. The storm of public grievances had certainly subsided, and the harsh sounds of Cristian Scroder and Grevenkrop, which he heard once more, were like the screeching of the sea birds after the tempest—they proved that the bad weather was over, and that Halcyon days were returned.

He would not deny but that some pensions had been given im-
previdently, and so had many grants of parliament, but he would not on that account consent to take away the powers either of the crown or of parliament. Some abuse of power was inseparable from its nature; but he would not therefore agree to reverse the constitution, and to make the House the author and suggester of rewards, instead of being the controller, as it is at present; and he thought that the other part of the bill which allotted a specific sum for pensions did not tend to economy. The use which a bad minister might make of it would be to put all the exceptionable pensions into that list, and to leave the Burghs, the Rodneys, and the Hawkes, to be provided for in the other list, which was to be voted by the addressees of parliament. He stared when he heard gentlemen say that economy had been shewn as to nothing except as to our manufactures; all the pensions granted by the Duke of Rutland (exclusive of those which gentlemen on the other side had specifically approved of) would not in fifteen years amount to as large a sum as those gentlemen mean to vote in one night to a single manufacturer. It was ridiculous to talk of the example of England; the parliament of that country, who were obliged to own that the influence of the crown had encreased, was encreasing, and ought to be diminished, did indeed, when sinking under its burdens, receive a message from the crown for the purpose, and did press a bill to restrain ministerial profusion. What was there in this example that a country, whose burdens were comparatively small, and whose revenues were adequate, was bound to imitate? It reminded him of a lady's humble companion, who was so fond of imitating her friend, that when the dear lady was sick, poor toad took physic to keep her company.

Sir JOHN PARNELL.—It is not mere assertion that can justify such an act; for if the pension list has existed from the year 1726, and has continued to encrease from that time to the present, why

should it be reserved to this day to vote the accumulated acts of so many successive ministers a grievance, and to impute that grievance to the present government of the country?

The question of prerogative has not been relied on here, and therefore I will not go into it. I do not wish to stir a question of jealousy, and I know if I did, instead of redressing, I should increase the evil complained of. It is enough for me to know that it has been the uniform practice of the crown to issue public money, and when the grievances of the land were named, this was not named among them. But what has been the conduct of the crown? Has it availed itself of the hereditary revenue, as it might have done? No; on the contrary, it offered to part with a considerable share of it on the commercial adjustment, in order to procure an advantage to this country.

It has been mentioned in the debate, that the pensions are encreasing while the bounties are falling off: But this is an error; for though the corn bounty has fallen, the other bounties are considerably encreased.

No attempt was made in the committee of accounts to point out a single article of improper expenditure; and therefore I give the honourable gentleman notice, (the House having now paid him that compliment, which is justly his due, in attending to his bill) that the next motion which he makes respecting pensions, which I suppose will be in two or three days, I will get rid of by the shortest question I can.

Mr. KEARNEY said that the charge made against that side of the House was a very extraordinary one; "that for want of real grievances they attacked imaginary ones." Is, said he, a debt of three millions contracted in a few years an imaginary grievance? Is not an enormous list of unnecessary, useless places a very real grievance? As to controul of parliament, experience shews that that is very sufficient, for it has never been exerted but in one instance, which has been already mentioned; and what was the consequence? That the king's letter made good Mr. Dyson's pension. He concluded with recommending to gentlemen to consider what had happened in other countries, when the body of the people found themselves oppressed, and their money squandered.

Mr. FORBES said he rose to say a very few words.—The Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that leave had been granted to bring in the bill, as a personal compliment to the mover. He said he was extremely sorry that compliment had been paid him, as it had created a debate, in which a line had been taken by the gentlemen on the opposite side, that reflected not much credit on parliament. He was at a loss to answer their arguments, as they were of a nature so singular: One gentleman had urged the majority of nineteen, on the 12th of August, as a

proof of the virtue of our minister. He said the right honourable baronet asked for proof of the abuse of the pension list: He would appeal to him, or any man of knowledge and understanding in the affairs of Ireland, whether the pension list bore a just proportion to the necessary expences of government, and the revenue of the country? It must be answered it did not; and if that was the case, what did the arguments of gentlemen on the opposite side amount to? That though this was an abuse, the House of Commons, the tribunal to which the people were to resort for the redress of every grievance, was incompetent to redress this, the greatest of all grievances.

Mr. ORDE closed the debate.—He said he would not at that late hour attempt to add any thing to the arguments which, in his opinion, had fully refuted all that had been alleged in support of the bill, nor would he have risen at all if his silence upon a former occasion had not been attributed to fear, and that he was determined to shew that he never acted under the influence of such a principle.

He could not, however, avoid saying that the addition which government had made to the list, independent of the addresses of parliament, was hardly worth so many words as were said about it; and as to the charge which had been brought forward, that the new pensions were not produced till after the grants were made, he said no new tax had been demanded—They were produced the moment they were called for, and without such call it would have been irregular for ministers to produce them till the end of the year. It had been said that this was but an experiment of the minister; how that would be time would shew.—He did not stand up to make professions, but to declare that he never would oppose the crown in a just and constitutional exercise of its prerogative.

It had been argued that if the bill should pass, there would be no danger of increasing the list by addressing for improper objects. Surely there could not be a stronger argument against the bill; for the same virtue which would restrain parliament from addressing for improper objects, would impel them to controul any improper grant; therefore, as the grant must every year correct whatever should be deemed improper, so long as parliament should do its duty, there could never be occasion for the bill.

The House divided upon the question, that the second reading of the bill be on the first of August, when there appeared,

Ayes - - 134 ——— Noes - - 78

TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1786.

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Armagh, convened by the high sheriff at the court-house, on the 21st day of November, 1785, for the purpose of taking into consideration the

bill lately introduced into the House for effectuating a commercial intercourse between this kingdom and Great Britain, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that after the most mature consideration the petitioners find that the said bill contains, with very little alteration, the whole substance of the twenty propositions of the British parliament, and if passed into a law would be ruinous to the manufactures and commerce, destructive of the liberties, and subversive of the constitution of this country; that it is the unalienable and fundamental right of the people of Ireland to be free from the authority of any legislature whatsoever, save only of the parliament of Ireland; that any covenant, agreement or statute, containing in any shape or form whatsoever an agreement that the parliament of Ireland shall from time to time enact in this country laws which shall be passed in another, is inconsistent with the said fundamental right, would render the parliament of this realm the register of another legislature, would in substance revive and introduce, by the means of our own parliament, the dominion of another, and would overturn the constitution of this realm; that a free trade is an unalienable and fundamental right of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, and that any covenant to surrender the same, or any part thereof, is inconsistent with said fundamental and unalienable right; that any covenant to alienate for ever the revenues of this land, more especially under the colour of payment for enjoyment of our natural rights and equality, is disgraceful and inconsistent with the limited power of an octennial trust; that a perpetual revenue bill, or any covenant or agreement to renew the same from time to time, is dangerous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the limited nature of an octennial trust; that any infringement of these principles must be an infringement of the constitution of this kingdom as a free, sovereign, and independent state; that the said bill is in direct opposition to each and every of these principles, and therefore supplicating the House that the said bill may never be suffered to be again introduced, and not only so, but that no other bill, however modified, which shall infringe in any degree on any of the said principles, may ever be suffered to pass into a law.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE, in order to bring on the report from the committee on the paving bill, moved that the order which stood for this day, for the second reading of the bill for erecting turnpikes on all avenues leading to this city, be postponed.

On the question being put, the House divided,

For postponing the order - 27 — Against it - - 47

The turnpike bill was read a second time, and the question put that it be committed:

Mr. OGLE objected to the committal of a bill which, he said, was reprobated so often both by parliament and the public; he

should not, he said, trespass on the time of the House any longer, but be contented with giving his negative to the committal.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said it was a bill which admitted no consideration; it had been introduced in three different sessions of parliament, and as often rejected by them. He would, without any more hesitation, oppose its being committed.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE said it was a matter of surprise to him that a bill rejected three or four times by parliament should now be again presented for their reprobation. He said the bill stood to him in a very singular light. It has often, said he, been petitioned against by the county it pretends to attempt to relieve, and yet it is again forced on the House and the public. It seemed very odd that lines of circumvallation should be placed round the capital in time of peace. Every body knew that turnpikes were infamous jobs. In short, he could compare the turnpike and cess, which would bear so heavy on the poor, to nothing but a two-edged sword, to oppress them on every side; he would therefore give his negative to the motion.

Mr. GARDINER.—I am surprised to see gentlemen oppose this measure, without any consideration or argument. I shall say but a few words on this subject, as I should not urge the patience of the House. A good measure is always ultimately carried into effect, was a saying of my Lord Coke, and as long as I live, and have ability to propose a motion in this House, I will press this forward. Gentlemen have intimated that the erection of turnpikes would be of use to me—I say it would be my interest to oppose such a measure. They have hinted that the patronage I would possess thereby would be advantageous to me—I say, in answer to that, that the grand jury will be empowered to appoint officers and salaries at their own option. There has been a petition presented as from the freeholders of the county of Dublin, assembled at Kilmainham, but very few of the persons who composed the meeting were freeholders.

Alderman WARREN said that as a right honourable gentleman had reflected on the meeting at Kilmainham, where he had the honour to preside in the chair, he begged leave to inform the House that there was one of the governors of the county, several freeholders, and many respectable men whom this tax would most sensibly affect. He himself had presented a petition, signed by 296 of the most respectable landholders of the county of Dublin. I hold, said he, several hundred acres of land myself, the greatest part of it poor ground, as almost all the ground towards that part of the county is, therefore this tax would considerably affect me; for gentlemen may know that there is no possible way of bringing ground into heart but by manuring; and allowing 350 loads of dung to the acre, (a very moderate quantity) it would be a land

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tax of thirty shillings per acre. I ask gentlemen, was ever such a thing heard of in England?—oppressed with taxes. Upon the whole I cannot think it fair, that because the north side of Dublin has turnpikes and bad roads, that you should saddle the south side with these inconveniencies.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM vindicated the meeting at Kilmainham, as being both numerous and respectable, and observed, that the commission grand jury was composed of men who were proper judges of the interest of their country—their opinion decided his vote.—He would not enter at large into the bill, unless it was committed; when it was, he would shew many and great errors in it: The bill was oppressive to the farmers and injurious to the agriculture of the county of Dublin. He said that nine out of ten of the inhabitants reprobated the measure; that he disliked this new mode of creating new influence, by framing bills to institute new officers, with large salaries.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he was called on to rise by what had fallen from the patron of that bill; and alleged that heavy as the cesses were on the county of Dublin, yet they had on an average of late years exceeded sixteen-pence per acre, and were not likely to be much lessened by the bill:—That it had been insinuated, that the only opposition to it arose from the local interests of the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, whereas in fact all other counties were to be affected by it; and he opposed it as hurtful to travellers from the county of Leitrim.—That the arguments before alleged for the bill, did almost all tend only to prove, that it was a carrier's advantage to pay for making good roads rather than travel gratis on bad ones; a truth he readily admitted; but he denied that turnpikes were the best means for procuring good roads. That the arguments deduced from the good state of roads round London did not apply to those round Dublin, where the concourse of travellers was so much less, and consequently the expence of administrations would absorb a much greater proportion of the tolls. That though so long as the right honourable gentleman would direct these intended turnpikes jobs need not be feared, yet afterwards, they would be as much exposed to that danger as other turnpikes in Ireland generally were. That if the blanks in this bill were to be filled up as seemed by its margin to be intended, the salaries to be created by it would probably amount to 1,300*l.* a year. That he had heard many farmers of the county of Dublin declare their abhorrence of the bill, and never heard one of them approve of it.

General CUNNINGHAM said he thought it was dangerous to lodge the revenues of so many different turnpikes, as the bill pointed out, in the hands of one body of men. Partialities might

arise, and the sum being consolidated to the management of one body, made it the more objectionable.

On a division there were, for committing the bill,

Ayes, - - 23 — Noes, - - 78

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1786.

Mr. HUTCHINSON presented a bill for regulating the stage in the city and county of Dublin ; which was received and read the first time.

The report of the committee on the paving-bill was read, and on the Speaker's putting the question on the barony of Donore's being included in the bill,

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said that it was very much against his will, that the barony of Donore was admitted to those privileges in the committee, for he was convinced it could not be done otherwise than at the expence of the city of Dublin. The barony, said he, is so poor, that it would not be near able to pave itself, exclusive of lighting and cleansing.—I shall not trespass any longer on your patience, but move that the amendment be expunged.

Mr. GARDINER spoke in favour of the clause for including the barony of Donore.

The House divided on the question, when there appeared for including Donore,

Ayes, - - 20 — Noes, - - 49

The House adjourned the report for half an hour, when

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN then rose, pursuant to his promise. He said he could not, consistent with that duty he owed the people, as a representative, continue silent on a subject which he was convinced might be turned to infinite national advantage ; therefore, with the indulgence of the House, he would speak his sentiments, but would willingly, and with pleasure resign it to any other gentleman who might be better qualified to explain it. He here mentioned a treaty, which had been concluded the 26th of June, 1763 ; a treaty from which something exceedingly advantageous might be derived for the benefit of this country.—Early in the last session, he said, a great officer observed a treaty was near being accomplished, but he was sorry to find in such treaties, the trade of Ireland was not an object of consideration.—It had been alleged by gentlemen, that we had obtained a free trade ; this led him to see what commercial advantages might succeed our emancipation, and the result of his enquiries he hoped would meet the approbation of parliament.—He here took a view of

the trade between Great Britain and Russia, and stated, that the exports of the former were not less than 430,000*l.* which exports chiefly consisted of woollens and Manchester goods; in return for these the imports of England from Russia did not amount to more than 130,000*l.* in timber, hemp, flax-grass, &c. the balance being generally paid in hard cash. A very material advantage was arising from this trade, that all those articles were exported and imported in English ships; from this branch of commerce it was evident England had infinite advantages; advantages in which he sincerely hoped this country would be included. Russia having possessed herself of great territories it was natural to imagine an encrease of trade would ensue, from which circumstance a favourable mart would present itself to the merchants of this country, who, he was authorized to say, looked forward to a trade with Russia as an object deserving their greatest attention.

Mr. ORDE said he thought it an improper risk his honourable friend had run, to explain the advantages that may arise from a trade with Russia, and therefore submitted to his honourable friend how unnecessary it was to go any further into the business.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN replied, that Mr. Cox in the book which he had published, in which he particularly treats of the trade with Russia, mentions the advantages to be derived from pursuing that trade.—I have, says he, no mystery in my breast which would be an impropriety to divulge; I repeat it for the purpose of the more strongly impressing it on the minds of gentlemen; the information is already too well known, therefore it cannot by any means injure this country that I should enter into an explanation of it. Our annual import of iron amounts to seven hundred tons; we cannot import it for ten shillings per cent. from England, but the charges are increased three times as much by bringing it from France. This shews the necessity of a trade directly to Russia. In 1553 the trade was opened from Great Britain to Russia and an exclusive charter was given to a company, and completed the 8th of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen saw the necessity of encouraging this company, and gave them very extensive privileges, and in the 10th and 11th of William it was enacted, that every subject of Russia should be permitted to become a member on paying five pounds, but the charter was confined to the natives of Great Britain.—Thus we find the natives of this country excluded from that company. I hope I may not be thought to glance at the minister of either country, if I declare that Portugal had with impunity broke in on the indisputable rights of Ireland; many ancient treaties it is true have expired, but this expiration did not include an apology for the conduct of Portugal.—He said he thought it was time that we should exert every commercial nerve to promote the trade of this country,

and on this subject would not, for the present, enter into a closer investigation, as he would reserve his sentiments for a future opportunity.—He then sat down without making any motion.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he agreed with the honourable baronet, that it was to be lamented the commercial treaty with England was not proceeded on, as he was ever of opinion we never could trade with advantage without a complete system of agreement between us and England; and as to exclusive companies they were as much a restriction to the people of England as Ireland; but by Irishmen being admitted thereto it brought great sums of money into this kingdom, as much almost as by any other means, and he believed the minister of England was no ways inimical to the interests of Ireland.

Mr. CORRY said it was a matter of great consequence, and it struck him much in the same light it did the honourable baronet, for those companies of exclusive trade were of serious consequence, as they excluded all others, and his honourable friend had stated the Russian company was to be recognized in the present treaty. The care of trade was on the right honourable gentleman's shoulders. He believed the right honourable baronet [the Chancellor of the Exchequer] was a great friend to the trade of the kingdom, but said he, you are now to extend the commerce, for the future trade of Ireland is not to be bound by any power of any company in England, or any English act in favour of them; therefore it is the duty of the minister of Ireland to take care of the interest and trade of Ireland in all future treaties.

Sir LUCIUS O'BRIEN.—I would say two or three words in reply to the honourable gentleman.—Certainly English acts of parliament cannot prevent Ireland from trading where she pleases; but then there are a thousand awkward circumstances to embarrass an individual in his trade to Russia.—He mentioned one matter that shewed the necessity of being included in the charter company. Among many other valuable privileges which a member of that company enjoys, he cannot have a soldier billeted on him, although the first nobleman in the land must acquiesce without a murmur—Although an Irish subject cannot have these privileges, yet he hoped soon to see so illiberal a partiality done away, and to have the English and Irish merchant on such a footing as would not admit in future of any political difference.

The report of the committee on the paving bill was resumed.

Mr. GARDINER proposed several amendments, which were agreed to.

Mr. CALDWELL proposed some amendments, some of which were agreed to, and others postponed to the third reading.

Mr. HARTLEY objected to the clause for compelling the inhabitants on the quays on each side the river Liffey, to keep up and repair the walls and banks thereof.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he agreed to the expulsion of the clause, which he moved, and the same was expunged.

The House agreed to the report with the amendments, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1786.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE moved that the engineers employed by the navigation board, in pursuance of a resolution of the House, entered into on the 6th day of September last, to take a survey from the grand canal to the Shannon, be now called in.

Mr. Brownrigg, the surveyor, Colonel Tarent, Mr. Chapman, and Mr. Semple, the engineers, were examined at the bar, by Sir John Blaquiere, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Holmes, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in regard to the estimate of the expence of making the line. It appeared that an accurate estimate could not, from the shortness of time, be made out.

It was ordered, on the motion of the right honourable William Burton Conyngham, that they do attend the House on Saturday next.

From Mr. Brownrigg's examination it appeared, that the line of survey he took was from Monastereven to Edenderry, to Kilbeggan, Moat of Grenouge, Ballimore and Athlone.

On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the consideration of the report on the petition of Robert Brooke, Esq; was postponed to Tuesday next.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved that the committee on the inland fishery bill be empowered to receive a clause, to oblige all persons who have weirs on rivers, to keep one at least, of the breadth of four feet, open from six o'clock on Saturday evening to six o'clock on Monday morning, from the first day of January to the first day of August.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE opposed the clause, on the principle that it would be injurious to the property of individuals. He said a similar clause had been rejected by the House in the last session, and that the Ballyshannon fishery in particular, would be affected by it, at least to the amount of fourteen hundred pounds a year.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL contended for the necessity of the clause. He said if such a clause was not adopted, the salmon fishery in the river Shannon, near Limerick, would be entirely destroyed; for the extreme avarice of the corporation of the city of Limerick had induced them to erect no less than six weirs on the river, and the fishermen destroyed the spawn. He recommended to the honourable gentlemen who represented that city, to agree to the clause; if they did not, it might induce some gentlemen to discuss in a court of law the exclusive right assumed by the corporation, and he would not recommend to gentlemen to hazard the question: He instanced a trial that had been determined in a similar case in the court of Exchequer—Lord Donegal against Sir Henry Hamilton.—He stated that the number of salmon caught by the persons who held under the corporation to amount in the season sometimes to 1600, but never less than 800 salmon a day.

Mr. BURTON CONYNNGHAM said he would oppose the clause, as it would materially injure the Coleraine fishery; for, as he was informed, if the weirs were put down on a Saturday, they could not be taken up till the Thursday following.

Mr. SMYTH (member for Limerick) said he did not approve of the clause; he said a compromise had been offered by the corporation of the city of Limerick, and which they were ready to abide by.

Mr. BOYD said he was of opinion that the clause was unnecessary, for if any persons thought themselves injured by the erecting of weirs, they might bring their complaint into a court of law, and there have the question properly discussed.

Mr. OGLE said the mischief did not arise from the erecting of weirs, but from the fishermen destroying the spawn; and there were already sufficient laws in force to punish delinquents in such cases, and he hoped the right honourable gentleman would withdraw his clause.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then withdrew the clause, and he moved another to the same purport, but instead of making it general, he confined it to operate only on the river Shannon near Limerick.

Lord LUTTRELL objected to this clause, on the ground that it was not a general one; he said he wished the operation of it should extend to the river Liffey, for if some such clause was not passed, there would not be a salmon in the river Liffey in a very few years. He observed, that it had been said it was better to leave this question to a determination of a court of law; but this clause would be a means of preventing litigious law-suits.

Mr. **GEORGE PONSONBY** said that this clause would make the legislature overleap its bounds, and that it tended to invade private property, without making compensation, and of course was to the manifest injury of proprietors. In his opinion, the way to proceed in cases of erecting weirs on rivers, was not by way of act of parliament, but by way of action at law.

Mr. **CHATTERTON** said he coincided in opinion, and that it was hard to attack the charters of a corporation, that held the right unviolated for near two hundred years.

Mr. **BUSHE** said he was in favour of the clause; and that parliament had a right to interfere on all occasions where persons thought themselves aggrieved.

On the question being put for agreeing to the clause, it was negatived without a division.

Sir **HENRY HARSTONGE** remarked that an order for going into a committee on the Limerick jail bill, which stood for this day, was not proceeded on.

The **SPEAKER** said that the purport of the bill differed very materially from the title, for the title was a bill for building and repairing a jail in the city of Limerick; the tendency of it was to enable the Dean of Limerick to take a new house.

On the order of the day being read for the third reading of the bill for consolidating into one law, the several statutes now in force for paving, cleansing, and lighting the city of Dublin,

Mr. **WARBURTON** said he thought some further consideration should be had on the bill; he therefore moved the question of adjournment, which being put, it was negatived without a division.

The bill was then read a third time, some amendments moved and agreed to, passed, and ordered to the Lords.

FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1786.

Mr. **HOLMES** presented a bill to enable the grand juries of the several counties, counties of cities, and counties of towns within this kingdom, to grant such sums as shall be necessary for building and repairing bridewells therein; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. **BOLTON** presented a bill for the more effectually promoting of partnerships in trade, by amending the laws respecting the same; which was received and read the first time.

The **ATTORNEY GENERAL** moved for leave to bring in a bill for improving the police of the city of Dublin, and for repealing

an act of the 17th of his present Majesty, intituled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin.

He assured the House that the bill he would bring in was totally different from what had been said of it in print, and that he would not introduce any thing but on constitutional principles.

Leave was granted, and the Attorney General and the Solicitor General were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

The House went into a committee on the bill for the registering of freeholders, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair.

Mr. HAYES said it was not from his being an enemy to the principle of the bill brought in for the more effectual registry of freeholds, nor was it that he did not entertain the highest opinion of the ability and application of the honourable gentleman who introduced it, that he was led to give it opposition, but merely because he saw it so very complicated, and so very voluminous, that he was convinced it would defeat the very end it was intended to promote. He did not think it could be necessary for the higher class of freeholders, whose property in counties must be a matter of notoriety, to register their freeholds at all. Such persons could never come under the description of bucks; a term he was happy to declare unknown in the county in which he had the happiness to reside. The principle then of his bill was, that the provisions of the act of the 19th of his present Majesty, for registering of forty shilling freeholds, should be extended to all freeholds under one hundred pounds.

Mr. CHATTERTON opposed the idea of exempting freeholds above 100l. from being registered; he said persons having no freeholds at all would pretend to be freeholders above 100l. a year, take the freeholder's oath, and so impose their votes at elections.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he hoped the House never would lay any restriction upon the right of election, that was not necessary to preserve that right from abuse; it should be the principle of parliament to keep it as enlarged as possible. It had been said that persons would be found wicked and hardy enough to take the freeholder's oath, even though an hundred pounds should be the qualification; he did not think that would be the case, because such a fraud must be immediately detected. He would venture to say that in the county where he lived there was not a freeholder of 100l. a year that he had not the pleasure of being perfectly acquainted with, but the lesser freeholds, being infinitely more numerous and more obscure, were not so easily known, therefore it was necessary to guard against frauds by having them registered; for though men in the heat of election, urged on by party, and blinded by prejudice or passion, might

sometimes be betrayed into so vile an act as perjury, by swearing themselves freeholders, when in truth they were not, yet there were found men so bad as to go coolly and deliberately, six months previous to an election, and swear themselves freeholders falsely, when, perhaps, they could not even guess which way they might afterwards give their votes.

The committee reported progress, and adjourned till next day.

The honourable Mr. ANNESLEY said he took the opportunity to mention, that a letter that had been published, as he understood, was considered by Captain Brooke as conveying a reflection on him; but he had authority to declare, that it was not the intention or idea of the author, printer or publisher thereof, to convey the most distant or any reflection on him; they having the best opinion and regard both of his honour and character.

The House in a committee on the bill for the discharge, without fees, of prisoners accused of felony and other crimes on their acquittal, or by proclamation, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair, examined at the bar Mr. James Smith, deputy-clerk of the crown, for the province of Connaught; and Mr. William Maddock, deputy-clerk of the crown for the city of Dublin.

The SECRETARY OF STATE observed that the practice of detaining persons only for their fees, either by clerk of the crown, sheriff, or gaoler, was illegal; and he called on the gentlemen of the bar in the House for their opinions.

Mr. CHATTERTON said he would say there was no judicial determination on the question; that the fees of the clerks of the crown were in some measure recognized by several acts on the table, though not directly authorized. That what he said might be supposed to arise from his connection with a gentleman in that office; but in the county of Corke, he would assert, no person ever was kept in prison by the clerk of the crown for his fees.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he made no allusion to any man; the practice he knew had been so for a great number of years; but it was illegal, and so were the fees demanded for the judges. He was sure the gentleman for the county of Cork acted with great propriety and humanity.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL said he was also of opinion the detention for fees was illegal.

The committee reported progress, and leave was given to sit again to-morrow.

SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1786.

The House went into a committee on the bill for the encouragement of the fisheries on the sea-coasts of this kingdom, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair.

On the clause being read for granting a bounty on the tonnage of vessels employed in the fishery, an objection was made to giving any bounty to vessels that came under the description of wherries, by Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Bushe, who stated that many frauds had been committed in procuring the bounty on fishing.

On the other hand, Colonel Conyngham and the honourable Dennis Brown contended, that vessels of this description were the most proper to carry on the fishing.

The committee divided, when there were for granting the bounty,

Ayes, — 18 Noes, — 43

MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1786.

Mr. BERESFORD said the 15,000*l.* granted to the commissioners for opening the avenues, and the communication between the north and south side of the city, by a new bridge, were expended all to about 3000*l.* which would not be sufficient to purchase the remainder of the ground wanted, and to compleat the work; he therefore gave notice that he would to-morrow, or the next day, make a motion on the subject, for the consideration of the House.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL presented a bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin; which was received and read the first time.

He said, I shall now move that this bill be read a second time to-morrow.—It is my intention to move you, when this motion is carried, that the bill be printed, and that its committal be on Friday next.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said that had the brief of this bill been agreeable to its design, we should have heard the real con-

ments of it. I think, said he, the whole might be reduced to one enacting clause, viz. "to enact that from and after the passing of this act, there shall be no longer freedom of election in the city of Dublin, but that the representatives thereof shall be nominated by and under the letters patent of the Lord Lieutenant." He warned country members of the tendency of this bill, and the flagrant attack upon the constitution of this country; the metropolis attacked, its liberties destroyed, and their counties would experience a similar fate, if a proper spirit was not exerted in the beginning of danger.

Mr. HARTLEY said he hoped the right honourable mover, for whom he had a great respect, and the best opinion of his candour and integrity, would not bring in any matter he thought improper or unconstitutional; yet as it was a matter of great consequence, and to alter the constitution and police of the city, and he might say of the kingdom, he hoped the honourable gentleman when he moved the printing of the bill, and allowed it required consideration, would not have thought of moving the second reading for an earlier day than this day se'night.

Mr. STEWART (of Killamoon) intreated the gentlemen in administration not to press forward a matter of such importance in so thin a House, when many gentlemen were gone to attend the assizes in their different counties, and in the absence of many others who did not expect this bill would have been brought forward this day, but give time for considering a bill of such consequence; which was not only to affect the city of Dublin, but every county in the kingdom.

Mr. ORDE.—The House may be assured there is no view in hurrying this bill, which is brought in at the universal call of the city and of the kingdom. It is universally acknowledged that some remedy is necessary for the frequent acts of disobedience to the laws, and I hope the remedy now proposed will be by all approved. If any part of it, upon consideration, should appear to gentlemen defective, I am sure there will be the utmost readiness with those who introduced the bill to adopt whatever improvement may be suggested. As to what has been insinuated with respect to the bill giving any improper influence, when it is in a committee let any gentleman point out the part that can convey such influence, and I will most willingly consent to its being struck out; for I do most solemnly declare that the utmost caution has been used to confine the operation of the bill to the objects for which it is really intended—the preservation of the peace, the safety of the citizens of Dublin, and the good of the community at large.

With respect to the time proposed for reading and committing this bill, it is in order that we may have as full a house as can be hoped for at this period of the session; but if it was to be delayed

for a week, a great number of gentlemen would be gone down to the assizes, and this important subject might not meet that full attendance it deserves; however if in the committee any thing objectionable shall be pointed out which cannot be immediately obviated, I shall have no objection to deferring the further consideration of the bill for some days.

Mr. GRIFFITH said the assizes were already commenced, and many gentlemen were gone down to attend them, as might be seen by looking round the benches. The two learned gentlemen who prepared the bill had taken two months to put it into its present form; how then could it be expected that country gentlemen, in the short space proposed to be allowed, could possibly make themselves masters of it? He did not doubt but the bill might prove of great advantage to the public; but that advantage would not be obtained by hurrying it. Gentlemen should be put in possession of the bill, and then should have an opportunity of consulting their constituents at the assizes, by which means the opinion of the nation would be truly obtained; for, he said, whatever concerned the city of Dublin concerned the whole kingdom.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he allowed the bill would have a general operation; but hoped that operation would be for the general good, at least he trusted it would appear no care had been wanting on the part of those who prepared the bill to give it that principle. He admitted that the bill had cost much time and trouble, but he denied that the subject had taken two months to comprehend it; he easily comprehended it, though it naturally took some time to reduce it to proper form. He reminded the House, that he had proposed to have the bill printed, and though he hoped it would be found much to the public benefit, yet he was by no means so attached to any part of it as not to be very willing to alter and amend that part, at the instance of any gentleman who would show him, by fair argument, where it was defective.

Mr. GREEN said he considered the disturbances which had some time since taken place in Dublin, and the spirit of disobedience to the laws which at this day prevailed in many parts of Ireland, as calling loudly for the interference of parliament. As to the bill proposed for remedying those evils, it was so plain that he thought any man of common understanding might comprehend it at first sight, and therefore he would not consent to delay.

Mr. CORRY said though he highly respected the right honourable gentleman who brought it forward, he thought his conduct could not be justified if he agreed to have so momentous a matter hurried through the House; for it embraced such a multiplicity of parts that it was impossible to understand it without cool and seri-

ous examination; and the very reading of acts of parliament on it would take up at least an entire day. Some further time therefore was necessary before they attempted to decide upon its principles. Country gentlemen would have time to examine it at the assizes, and thus the sense of the nation might be collected, and they could be consequently the better able to determine on its merit.

Mr. Serjeant TOLER said he never would sit silent and hear it insinuated that the labour of his two right honourable friends, [the Attorney and Solicitor General] whose knowledge of law, and zeal for the constitution, were confessed by all, could have any tendency to trench upon the rights and liberties of the subject. The bill had been once read, and most distinctly, by the Speaker, yet no man had been able to point out a single impropriety in it. But, said he, it is said it should be discussed at the assizes, though there is scarce a corner of the island that has not sent in the most humble terms its complaints to the foot of the throne, and almost besought military interference. Shall it then be said that parliament must not proceed to remedy the abuses complained of, until the grand juries first deliver their opinion? Perhaps it would be better for the nation if the grand juries were to deal less in politics, and contenting themselves with the enforcement of the laws, commit the care of forming them to the hands of parliament, in which the constitution has lodged it. So far as the bill relates to the city of Dublin it is merely a matter of internal regulation, and goes no farther than to enable the magistrate to bring offenders to justice, according to the known and established laws. As to what relates to possessions it is a matter of absolute necessity; and when it shall be known that parliament has seriously set about reforming abuses on that subject, we shall no longer hear of such men as Mr. O'Connor; they will fear more alarm when they know that parliament are in earnest, than if a troop of dragoons were at their heels. The clause which relates to possessions is, I think, drawn with great wisdom, and strict regard to the constitution; but I am not surprised when I consider by whom it was drawn; and I even consider what was urged as an argument against going into the bill immediately, that it had undergone two months consideration, as a reason for supposing it extremely perfect, and therefore not necessary to be delayed. Indeed I know no use of delay but to give gentlemen time to study inflammatory speeches against it.

Mr. CONOLLY.—It seems it would be urged that no person has a suspicion of the bill: I suspect the principles of it because I suspect administration—I suspect its intention, because I suspect administration—I suspect an administration that promises this country trade, in lieu of which, she gives us 140,000*l.* in taxes—I suspect an administration, that when we ask for bread gives us a stone.—And though I wish for order and regulation, still I am convinced

the profits arising from that bill may be purchased too dearly—I see by one clause you intend to take the arms out of the hands of the volunteers.—When I reflect on the memorable propositions of 1785, and the sensible measures proposed in 1786, it staggers my faith, and induces me to say, that surely the people ought to be consulted when you go to alter the constitution.—A bill of such magnitude, to insist to hurry it before the House shews there is a snake in the grass, to crush which every gentleman ought to attend.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I shall give no opinion on the bill on hearing the reading of the abstract; but I have no confidence in either the declarations or consciences of administration, and shall only observe that this bill is certainly a new constitution for the city of Dublin. If it does not require consideration, why in the same breath move to print it for consideration? It is a foolish blunder to bid us consider and not allow time for it.

It has been said gentlemen ought not to have gone to the assizes, yet if gentlemen chuse to attend them, it is hard on the people if, in their absence, a measure of such importance is brought in when their advice and assistance is wanted. His Majesty's ministers and servants are men of ability and integrity; they should have brought on this matter earlier. If you will postpone the consideration of the bill till after the assizes, you will do right, and remove all cause of suspicion, and shew you act candidly. By some misfortune or other this subject has not been brought on earlier, but is now in a thin House; if you wish to satisfy and secure the police, you will give time to consider a bill of such singular delicacy; if you will bring it on, let it be printed, let it go forth. There are a great number of new establishments. It is impossible to consider the influence and consequence attendant on the bill, in a short time.

Mr. CONYNGHAM said he would be sorry gentlemen in that House should not shew a little laudable jealousy to guard the constitution against any encroachment; but he thought it extraordinary that no measure could be proposed by government to which the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Grattan] was not ready to give opposition. He asked, would any one deny the necessity of the present bill? Would any one say that it had not been called for? Was it not also material before the assizes, that the country might see that parliament was in earnest in a desire to preserve the peace? It was known, he said, that the present laws were insufficient to prevent forcible possessions; nothing, therefore, could be more improper than to let the public suppose that there were two opinions in parliament on the subject.

Mr. WOLFE moved that the bill be read a second time on Saturday.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he did not mean to insinuate suspicion of the gentlemen who introduced the bill, nor did he

think it necessary to recur to the assizes in order to prove the propriety of delaying till Saturday ; that the importance of the bill was a sufficient reason ; and that he wished his honourable friend's motion should be complied with, as a measure likely to augment confidence in administration.

On a division, there appeared for reading the bill a second time on Saturday,

Ayes - - 19 Noes - - 68

The question was then put for reading it a second time to-morrow, and carried without any division.

TUESDAY, MARCH 21, 1786.

The following message was received from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

" Mr. Speaker,

" It is his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers."

Accordingly the Speaker, with the House, went to attend his Grace ; and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Grace was pleased to give the royal assent to the following bills :

1. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an additional duty on wine, hides, beer, ale, and other goods and merchandizes therein mentioned, and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, and of all cambricks and lawns, except of the manufacture of Great Britain, and of all hops, except of the growth of Great Britain and the British plantations, and of all glass, except from Great Britain.

2. An act for granting to his Majesty the several aids, duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for such other purposes as are therein mentioned.

3. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned, to be levied by the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.

4. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain rates and duties upon the portage and conveyance of all letters and packets within this kingdom, and for the purposes therein mentioned.

5. An act for the advancement of trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the several duties therein mentioned.

6. An act for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties upon malt.

7. An act for granting to his Majesty the several duties therein mentioned upon coffee.

8. An act for regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

9. An act for regulating the sugar trade, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

10. An act for granting unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, certain duties on carriages.

11. An act for granting certain duties upon licenses to be taken out by the several persons therein mentioned.

12. An act for licensing hawkers and pedlars, petty chapmen and other persons.

13. An act to promote the linen and hempen manufactures, by encreasing the supply of Irish flax-seed, and encouraging the export of linens and sail cloth, and for granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the duties therein mentioned.

14. An act for making, widening, and repairing public roads in the county of Dublin, and for repealing parts of several acts formerly made for that purpose.

15. An act to explain and amend an act passed in this kingdom in the eighth year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, entitled an act for the better payment of inland bills of exchange, and making promissory notes more obligatory.

It was resolved, *nem. con.* that the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable the Speaker, for the excellent speech made by him at the bar of the House of Peers on presenting the money bills this day, and that he be requested to print the same.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE presented a bill to enable certain persons to make a navigable cut from the grand canal at Osbertstown towards Naas, and into the adjacent country; which was received and read a first time.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) presented a bill to explain and amend an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for preventing frauds in the measurement of lime; which was received and read a first time.

He also presented a bill for rendering effectual a grant made formerly by parliament for the encouragement of the copper manufacture of this kingdom; which was received and read a first time.

The stage bill was read a third time, and ordered to the Lords.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said he wished the honourable member would re-commit the bill, in order to create a board for conducting the stage, and include the four or five forlorn aldermen who could not find room in the paving bill, harbour act, or police bill. That it would be cruel to cut off those men from sharing in the present bounties.

Mr. MASON adverted to the recent situation of Captain Brooke of Prosperous.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said that the creditors of that gentleman had already changed their minds; they had taken a different turn, and he was on that account for postponing any further enquiry.

The House sat in a committee on the inland fishery bill, Mr. Bolton in the chair.

Lord LUTTRELL observed that a clause for the punishment of the robbers of salmon fry weirs, &c. comprehending the words hue and cry, had caused too much contention.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE defended the clause, as a necessary one, and wished that in order to prosecute the idle, the vagabond and dissolute to conviction, the clause should comprehend two prosecutors instead of one.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL said he was for punishing such offenders, but he wished to discriminate guilt from innocence.

Mr. OGLE said he regretted the robberies of our rivers. He remarked that, at the rate we went on, we followed the rule of Æsop's fables goose—for to get all the eggs together, we killed the goose.

The question being put for the insertion of the clause, it was negatived without a division.

The following is the Right Honourable the Speaker's speech to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, at the bar of the House of Peers, on presenting the money bills for the royal assent this day.

" May it please your Grace,

" THE expences of this kingdom had for a series of years, as well in time of peace as war, constantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increased on debt.

" Where such a system is suffered to prevail, manufactures must at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture cease to produce wealth or plenty. The Commons therefore, in the last session, wisely determined to put a stop to so ruinous a system, and with a spirited attention to the true interests of their country,

and the honourable support of his Majesty's government, they voted new taxes to increase the revenue of the year, in the sum of 140,000*l*.

"The effort was great, and the event has proved its wisdom. No further addition is now wanting—no loan or act of credit is necessary—a situation unknown to this kingdom for many sessions past, and marking with peculiar force the happy era of your Grace's administration.

"Animated by this success, and determined to persevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his Majesty's faithful Commons have in this session, continued the same taxes, and granted all the supplies that were desired, to the full amount of every estimated expence; nor have they omitted at the same time to provide for the speedy reduction of the national debt, by a considerable sinking fund, and to continue to the agriculture, the fisheries, and the rising manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties necessary for their support.

"Great as these taxes are, they are liberally and cheerfully given, in the most firm and full confidence that from your Grace's experienced wisdom and affection for this kingdom they will be found effectually to answer the end proposed, of supplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any further accumulation of debt."

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 1786.

The House went into a committee, Sir Hugh Hill in the chair, on the bill for discharging prisoners acquitted, without their paying fees.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON examined Mr. Maddocks, clerk of the crown, as to the fees actually charged before the late law was passed on this subject, who stated, that the fees for an indictment of high treason, as murder, &c. were first,

			£.	s.	d.
To the clerk of the crown	—	—	2	13	4
To the judge	—	—	0	3	4
To the sheriff	—	—	0	13	4
To the gaoler	—	—	0	16	3
Discharge	—	—	0	2	8½

So that the most innocent person, however unjustly accused, paid in mere fees, besides the cost of lawyers, &c. to defend him, —

4 8 11½

For an indictment of felony, though acquitted.

		£.	s.	d.
To the clerk of the crown	_____	1	6	8
To the judge	_____	0	0	6
To the sheriff	_____	0	6	8
To the gaoler	_____	0	3	4
Discharge	_____	0	1	0
		1	18	2

The same for a trespass, except as to a judge, who gets _____ 0 2 6

Besides these fees, there are paid by persons convicted, on obtaining pardon,

To the clerk of the crown _____ 2 0 0
To the judge _____ 1 0 0

Being asked, whether since the late law the number of trials had increased? He said he thought they had. In going circuit, he had known persons tried in one town, and discharged, brought to trial in another town in the same circuit, for crimes committed after the first trial.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) said he was well acquainted with the humanity of Mr. Maddocks's disposition; he knew he had never detained wretches in gaol for his own particular fees, and assured the House they might put the most implicit confidence in his report.

Mr. WARDEN FLOOD examined Mr. Maddocks: He said, that before the passing of the late law, persons acquitted were often detained in prison for their fees; that now the fee to the judges are paid by the clerk of the crown, who is reimbursed by the presentment of the grand jury; he does not know whether judges are by law entitled to those fees, but by their taking them, supposes they are. When fees have been heretofore unpaid, judges have lodged a detainer; he does not know whether it was legal. Before the late act, people were often detained for fees: He knows nothing of the legality of this proceeding, but he has known it to be practised twenty years.—He said he never demanded any fees but upon the precedent of those who went before him in office.—He could not tell whether the number of persons tried had increased since the act; he had sometimes known grand juries present the fees of wretches acquitted, who were unable to pay for themselves; in going circuit he had sometimes in one town received 100l. in others very little.—He always travels with seven horses, three clerks, and two servants.

He was directed to withdraw, and the committee reported progress.

Mr. BERESFORD said the House had formerly addressed the crown for a sum of money to be applied in opening an avenue from Sackville-street to College-green; the grounds for that purpose had been valued, a great part of them paid for, some of them actually thrown open, and the whole business was in a degree of forwardness that made it necessary to think of providing a communication between the two sides of the river by a new bridge, the materials for which might be got in readiness before the next session, and early in the ensuing summer might be put together; and by the time that the progress of the work would impede the access of the shipping to the old custom-house, he hoped the new one would be fit to do business. He would therefore move, that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant to the commissioners of his revenue a sum not exceeding the sum of _____ to be applied by them towards completing the intentions of this House, of opening a convenient communication between the northern and southern sides of this city, to the eastward of Essex-bridge (for which considerable sums of money have been already granted) by erecting a bridge over the river Anna Liffey, opposite to Bachelor's-lane, upon such plan as shall be approved of by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, so soon as the new custom-house now building shall be so far advanced as to admit of stopping the navigation up to the present custom-house, and that this House will make good the same.

It was resolved that the House will, to-morrow morning, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said motion into consideration.

The police bill was read a second time, and a motion was made that it be now committed.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said he rose to give his decided disapprobation to the bill now read; first, on the principle that it was a money bill, and should have been in the first instance taken up in a committee of ways and means; and secondly, on the principle, that as the bill appeared to him, it was one of the most oppressive that ever was framed; it was subversive of the constitution, and invaded the rights of the subject; it authorised commissioners, and those acting under them, to commit acts dangerous to the peace of society; by virtue of this act, they might break into the house of any peaceable citizen, nor was even houses of members of parliament exempted, who might on the complaint of some disorderly servant, be taken up by an infamous petty constable: Therefore, thinking as he did, that the bill

went to annihilate the constitution, and infringe the rights of the people, he should move that the committal of this bill be postponed to the second day of August next: He had intended to move that it should be taken into consideration on the first day of August, but on recollection he found that a great deal of business was to be done on that day. [Alluding to the resolutions moved on a former night by the right honourable Mr. Brownlow, respecting the pension list, and which were, on the motion of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, postponed to the first of August.]

The SPEAKER here explained the point of order—the question now before the House was, that the bill be committed.

Mr. HARTLEY said that, as one of the representatives of this city, whose rights would be materially affected by the present bill, he felt it his duty, and thought himself warranted in saying a few words. He said he did not get a printed copy of the bill till half after one o'clock that day, and he had not, from the shortness of time, been able to pay that attention to the bill, which its magnitude required; nor, indeed, was the time sufficient for a man of a quicker understanding and greater abilities, than what he presumed to possess; but this he was able to collect from the bill, that it tended to destroy the chartered rights of the city, to render the board of aldermen dependent on government; and that it done away, to all intents and purposes, the power of the lord-mayor and the magistrates of the city. From the perusal, he found likewise, that its influence extended to appointing county magistrates, perhaps not very respectable, to act in the city; and that all honours and emoluments arising from this new establishment, were to flow from administration; and however respectable and well inclined to this country the present administration might be, he did not think it prudent or wise to give such extraordinary powers as this bill gave to every successive one. He likewise said, that by this bill a power was given to the commissioners that is denied to Majesty itself, that is, of raising an indefinite number of armed men. On the whole, he thought that the principle of the bill went to invade ancient chartered rights, and infringe the liberties of the people; therefore, as a representative of the city of Dublin, he should oppose the bill being committed.

Mr. DENNIS BROWNE contended for the necessity of the immediate committal of the bill; an improvement of the police was not only wanted in the city, but also in the country, particularly in his part, and he wished the operation of the bill would be extended beyond the limits of the city.

Mr. GRIFFITH complained of the shortness of time given for the consideration of any measure brought forward by administra-

tion. He said he had seen the bill but an hour ago, and whilst reading it, he imagined himself transported to the regions of Indostan. He declared that if this bill passed, the city of Dublin would be in a more oppressive situation in regard to its government, than the city of Delhi. He begged that a measure of such great magnitude might not be hurried through the House, and he prophesied that if this bill passed into a law, it would raise such a ferment as gentlemen were not aware of at present; he should therefore oppose the committal of the bill, for it was not calculated for a country that had the least pretensions to freedom, but calculated for the meridian of the most absolute monarchy.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON—I would wish to hear gentlemen give their reasons why this bill is not obnoxious; and it is one circumstance that induces me to wish for time in this business, that the gentlemen with whom it originated may convince me that this bill deserves my support.

It was mentioned on Monday last, that this bill, if carried into execution for this city, would, perhaps, in the course of the next session, be extended to the country parts of this kingdom. For my part, from the features of this bill, I should be sorry to find it carried into execution even in a country habituated to slavery.

I have spoken of a Mr. O'Connor in a former debate, and I am firmly persuaded that, as to that gentleman, matters have been extremely exaggerated and misrepresented. I know it has been mentioned as an affair that required the interference of government; and that camps, cannon, and fortifications were erected. It was also rumoured that the Roman Catholics were in open rebellion; this was an insidious, infamous, and false report, calculated to cast an undeserved reflection on a body of men remarkable for their loyalty to their sovereign, and their known attachment to the constitution; it was an illiberal and an infamous attack on a people distinguished for their peaceable demeanour, and was intended but to serve the purposes of this still more infamous bill.

However great my knowledge may have been of the loyalty of the Roman Catholics of this country, yet I must confess on this occasion I was made a dupe to report; for from the gentleman who had declared the county of Roscommon to be in a state of rebellion, I could scarcely believe but government had authority for saying so; I confess, therefore, I felt for my property; and it was natural I should make every possible enquiry; I did so, and found there was no rebellion in the country; and also found the trifling disturbances which have been so exaggerated, were only the effects of some whiskey, to which the country people had been treated, and which every gentleman knows operates on the lower order of people, as oil of Rodium does on rats; and

what was very extraordinary, there was not a broken head on the occasion.

I wrote to a gentleman of veracity, and a magistrate a [Mr. Caulfield] who assured me the peace of the county was not for a moment disturbed; I offered to reinstate those gentlemen who were said to be dispossessed of their lands, with the assistance of a troop of dragoons; the power was denied me; I therefore was well founded in an opinion, that when this bill was mentioned, the affair of Roscommon would be made a handle of; and that it would be said the rebellion, as it was ludicrously termed, of O'Connor, made it absolutely necessary. I am also convinced that the affairs in the south are likewise exaggerated, and by no means fairly stated, so as to give rise to this measure; but admitting what we have heard to be facts, I humbly submit to this House, if the subversion of our constitution is not a strange mode of producing regulation and good order to the state.

Mr. MOORE.—It cannot have escaped the notice of the House, that the honourable gentleman first moved to refer the bill to the 2d of August, and afterwards desired to know on what principle it could be supported. Now I think there cannot be a difference of opinion amongst gentlemen as to the principle, when they look round and see the lawless outrages committed in every part of the kingdom, and which have ceased but the other day in the capital. The bill professes to remedy such abuses. How is not now the question—the detail is to be examined in the committee.

I would most earnestly recommend to gentlemen unanimity on this subject, for every one who knows the country knows the strong impression that the unanimity of this House will make. I need not tell gentlemen that ignorant people will mistake any opposition to the principle of the bill, and think it an approbation of their misconduct; they will deem gentlemen who oppose the principle of the bill espousers of their cause, by which means the good effects of the bill will be utterly destroyed; therefore I hope for as much unanimity as possible; and as I know the necessity there is for this bill, I will vote for its being committed on the earliest day.

Mr. GODFREY GREENE said he had read the bill with great attention, and it had his full approbation; he thought it a masterly performance, drawn up with a degree of ability which reflected honour on the law servants of the crown, and promised the happiest consequences to the nation. Its principle was obviously to preserve the peace of the country. Would any man deny the necessity of such a bill, who knew that in the county of Tipperary alone nine forceable possessions were held at one time? Would any man deny the necessity of it who recollected the tarring and feathering committee?

One clause of the bill, he observed, went to remedy an inconvenience very much felt in every county in Ireland, the difficulty of transporting felons. Would any man say that was not a necessary clause? But he confessed it was premature to talk of particular clauses, the committee was the proper place to investigate them; and as no one had denied the principle of the bill, he thought the sooner it went to the committee the more advantageous it would prove to the public.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said he rose to express his approbation of the bill. No one, he observed, had denied the miserable state of the present police; no one had pretended that some reform and improvement were not necessary. An honourable baronet had said, that whiskey was productive of much mischief in the country; its influence might also be perceived in Dublin, but the bill would enable the magistrates to correct the ill effects of that influence; and as it tended to preserve the tranquillity of the metropolis, and to quiet the possessions in the country, he could not conceive how it was possible for any gentleman, having these objects at heart, to give it opposition.

Mr. ORDE said he would not have risen but to express how greatly he approved the sentiments of a gentleman who, with so much honour to himself, had enforced the necessity of unanimity, and to assure the respectable member for the city of Dublin, that when the bill should go into committee, he would be ready, as possible, to accommodate any part that he might deem objectionable, to his wishes. He assured the House that it was the wish of all concerned, in preparing and forwarding the bill, to preserve every right of the corporation of the city of Dublin as far as possible, and consistent with the public good, and if in any case the rights of the city should appear to be broken in upon, the House would be the proper judges how far it was founded in necessity, and how it might be avoided. He called upon every gentleman to lend his assistance, as he did not think the House tied to the particular clauses of the bill, and as he wished to convince the country, almost every part of which had complained of the weakness of the present laws, that government had no intention but to strengthen the hands of the civil magistrate, for the preservation of peace and good order amongst the people.

Mr. GRATTAN.—No one will say that a good police is not a good thing for the city of Dublin; no one will say that a good police is not a good thing for the city of London, or Paris, or any other city; but I deny that under pretence of preserving the city's peace we should destroy the city's independence.

This bill is a bill of armed patronage, and as such I will oppose it in every stage. I think there was no difficulty in forming

a bill upon the principles of the constitution, that would have effected every good purpose proposed by the present bill; in a very few days I think I could prepare one which would not attack the rights of the city, or grant this very formidable patronage to the crown.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I am surprised to hear objections made to this bill by any gentleman who has been witness to the riots which have disgraced our city. Even now, that they have subsided, what is the situation? You cannot bring an offender from the prison to trial without a military guard—you cannot whip an offender through the streets without an army—there is not the smallest thing that can be done in the way of executive justice without a military guard.

I will remind gentlemen of what happened last session. Though Mr. Green, the then lord mayor, and his sheriff, Mr. Smith, had positive information that an armed mob had determined to come down to this house, and attack the members who happened to fall under their displeasure; yet either from inability or neglect, no precaution was taken; and gentlemen will please to recollect what happened.

It is said that this bill infringes the charter of the city—I will state how this matter stands:—Within the circular-road, which, with the Phoenix-park, comprehends the district in which this bill is intended principally to operate, there are several different jurisdictions—the city of Dublin, the county of Dublin, and different liberties.—Very great inconveniencies have heretofore been experienced, because county magistrates were not able to act in the city, or city magistrates in the county; it has been therefore thought necessary to give to certain magistrates a concurrent jurisdiction that shall run through the whole district, without which there can never be an effectual police.

The right honourable gentleman has said that in a few days he would be able to draw up a bill upon more constitutional principles—I deny that any principle can be more constitutional than that of diminishing the influence of the standing army, and strengthening the hand of the civil magistrate; and though I have every opinion of the legal knowledge and ability of the right honourable gentleman, yet he will give me leave to doubt that he would be able to perform what he is so free to promise.—I very readily acknowledge that the bill cost my learned friend [the Solicitor General] and me a very great deal of trouble; that we had several meetings upon it; our wish was to make it as correct and unexceptionable as possible; for we well knew that any thing, however perfect, coming from the present administration, would be opposed, and therefore we determined to leave no ground for cavil.

It was said in a former debate, that this bill was a scheme to disarm the volunteers. That old and stale pretext, of standing up for the volunteers, is now worn out—it will not excite the least disturbance.—But why is this to disarm the volunteers? Because it empowers the commissioners to search the houses of suspected and unqualified persons for concealed arms. Will any man deny the propriety of this, when he hears that there is scarce a drunken weaver in the Liberty that has not arms concealed; and I submit, whether this provision of the bill ought not to be extended to the south of Ireland, where the arms of the volunteers have got into the very worst hands, the hands of the lowest order of Roman Catholics, who are daily disarming the Protestants there. I am sorry to say that within this month, in the county of Kerry, a body of Papists attacked and disarmed a little colony of German Protestants, who had formed themselves into a corps of volunteers.—They took from them thirty stand of arms.

The bill goes no farther than to extend the civil power—I defy any man to say it does more—and I ask whether past experience authorises any man to say, that any very effectual scheme of police is likely to be brought forward and put into execution by the corporation of the city of Dublin?—Do gentlemen recollect when particular members of this House were obliged to have guards to defend them from the fury of an enraged mob, instigated by the basest of men, and for the vilest purposes—I ask them, did the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs protect them?—No.—In short, if ever there was a city in the world, whose police wanted improvement, Dublin was that city.

The right honourable gentleman has said that he would have no objection to a good bill for regulating the police. I would be extremely glad of his assistance, and that of the respectable city member, to correct any thing that may be amiss in this bill. If they will point out any solid objection, I will alter the part against which it lies.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE.—In a bill of so much public expectation, I did hope that both sides of the House would have united to let it go into a committee without raising any difficulty. In the committee a perfect code might be formed to remedy the evils which this bill professes to redress.

I have read the history of ancient parliaments, and I have found, that respectable country gentlemen were wont to come into the House, and support government, where government ought to be supported, and oppose the crown in every case where opposition was beneficial to the nation. I am sorry the present days do not furnish such virtue; we now see gentlemen who ought to support laws beneficial to the state, giving uniform and indiscriminate opposition.

If I may be indulged in so much liberty, I will hold up to the House a picture which will shew the necessity of this bill.

On the fifth of April, 1784, the mob of this city aggregated, called together by seditious hand-bills, which were libels on the King's government, and on this House. I, myself, saw the mob, headed by the magistrates of that day, and led down to this House. They filled all the passages; they filled your bar and your gallery, and from the gallery they threatened the lives of your members, particularly the life of a right honourable gentleman who with zeal and patriotism, not to be surpassed, had for many years exerted his great talents, and successfully exerted them, to give bread to the very multitude that was ready to destroy him. He was the man particularly pointed at to be sacrificed to the rage of faction and party.

I call upon the House to recollect what was done the succeeding summer. Can the House forget Napper's parliament and Reilly's election? If they do, I shall never forget them; nor shall I forget the intrepidity with which a right honourable member [Attorney General] stood forward at the Tholsel at the hour of danger. A gentleman also, whom, as I do not see him here, I shall name [Mr. Wolfe] upon that occasion proved that he possessed the proper spirit of a good citizen; he also stood in the gap. Many other gentlemen of this House, and gentlemen not of this House, appeared to support the constitution of their country; for a moment sedition slunk away abashed, nor did she after that dare to shew herself, even in William-street, but kept closely within doors.

But what was the effect of such exertion to individuals? Plots were formed to assassinate some gentlemen, and an honourable alderman, whose magistracy had been deemed a model and example for all his successors, was proscribed, and nearly ruined for his loyalty and zeal for the constitution. However, I know the honest heart of our noble chief governor will exult with joy to find it in his power to reward such merit.

An honourable gentleman has with great justice said that the only objection to the bill is its want of universality, for there are many places in this kingdom where neither a man's life nor his property are safe. A land jobber, for instance, availing himself of the weakness of the present police, finding his lease expired, still holds possession of your land, refuses to pay rent, and if you attempt by law to turn him out, he sets you at defiance, for he knows that there is no force in the country to execute the laws, except you call on the King's army.

When the bill goes into a committee, I hope to see a clause introduced to abolish the act called Lucas's law; that was the first infringement that ever was made on this city's charter; that let the heads of the mob and the abettors of sedition into the

corporation. Previous to that ill-omened law, the corporation of the city of Dublin was truly respectable; not less than eight aldermen of the city had the honour to sit in this House at one time, and it is my opinion, if that law had never been enacted, the city would have still maintained her dignity, we should have lived in happiness and tranquillity, and we should have no occasion for the present bill; but from the day that a pack of low incendiaries were admitted into the corporation, there never was safety, order, or good government amongst them.

Mr. CONOLLY.—A few words have dropped from my right honourable friend on the floor, to which I beg leave to advert. I have read a bill that under the specious pretence of giving police, goes to take away constitution. The right honourable compiler of this strange and voluminous code of laws, says he is willing to have the objectionable parts expunged, when it comes to an investigation; if so, I think his labour of two months will not preserve its present awful and extensive appearance, since it is evident there are many striking features of that odious bill, which certainly goes to infringe on a charter that should be protected by parliament, and not be permitted to be destroyed by the caprice of an inconsistent administration. I, however, rise now, not to enter into a detail of the demerits of this bill, but to answer for those words I have uttered on the night before last, and to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded. I am still positive that I am well founded in my opinion, that the conduct of the present administration is inimical to the constitution. I will not at present dwell on the powers which are to be lavished on the officers and commissioners now intended to be established, if that infamous bill receives the sanction of law; nor will I speak the sentiments of the gentleman at the head of administration in another country, of whom our ostensible minister here is an echo; or add my voice at present to that of the people, in execrating his measures, and the measures of his confidential friend in this country.

But let us look to the administration that concerns ourselves. I did say this bill intended to go to disarm the volunteers; these were my words, and nothing has as yet transpired to make me alter my sentiments. The temperance of the volunteers since the noble duke's administration, deserves our grateful approbation. When they were misguided, and adopted measures which I conceived improper, I was not backward in avowing myself against their proceedings; but when I reflect that the moment the volunteers were told their conduct was disagreeable to parliament, they retired to the country without a murmur; Such conduct secures my admiration, and makes me at present tenacious of their liberties, nor can their arms be placed in better hands than where they are.

As to the propositions of last year, had they went into the English Houses as they were introduced here, followed by the present intended violation of charter, I think I would have seen the spirit of the venerable Pitt rise from its tomb, to rebuke the disgraceful conduct of a son, in whom he could not possibly trace a virtue that had distinguished that honest and incorruptible minister.

When I take a view of the present administration, I cannot help execrating the subject of attachments, the taxes, and the restrictions laid on the press. And from these disgraceful circumstances, I think myself warranted in declaring I have no confidence in the present administration. There is a part of this police bill which mentions that no action is to lie against the offender, who may at any hour he pleases, under the sanction of this diabolical code, break into a man's house.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—No action is to lie, except an action for trespass.

MR. CONOLLY.—So according to this precious clause it is evident the servants of these commissioners may break into the house of any volunteer whatever, and deprive him of his arms. Every man of moderate capacity must be impartially convinced that this is positively an alteration of the constitution.—I am alarmed, exceedingly alarmed, at these unnecessary and unconstitutional stretches, and wish I could sit down and say I could give any part of this police bill my approbation.

MR. BROOKE (of Donegal) said he could not deny the principle of the bill, and must admit that the necessity of it both in Dublin and through the country was obvious; but it was the misfortune of government (not the present but all governments) that nothing could be brought forward by them which was not an object of jealousy; this had been proved in the absentee bill, which though long the ardent wish of the nation, was rejected when offered by government.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE said the import of the bill had been totally mistaken, which was a decisive reason for considering the different clauses of it in a committee. It had been asserted that the bill professed an improvement of the police, and really proposed a violation of the constitution of the metropolis. He denied that it in any respect violated that constitution, and asked, whether any magistrate of the city of Dublin had now any power, pre-eminence or authority, that would not, after this bill should pass into a law, remain with him entire and undiminished? He affirmed that this bill would improve the constitution, by extending the jurisdiction of some of its magistrates. No man by this bill would be a magistrate of the city

who shall not derive his right under its charters; but it was proposed that some of its magistrates should be also magistrates in the county of Dublin; their chief magistrate had already that extent of jurisdiction, but his authority having been often found insufficient for the preservation of the public peace, it was found necessary to give to other magistrates of the city the same extent of jurisdiction, and to support all the magistrates of the city by a regular police, which had been long the general wish. This was not a violation of the constitution, but an infusion of new life and vigour into it. Gentlemen had mentioned the shameful outrages which had of late years insulted both Houses of parliament, and disgraced the metropolis; he recollected many similar instances from the year 1753. He said it was not unusual for the legislature to interfere for the preservation of peace and good order in the principal cities and towns of this kingdom; that in the reign of Charles II. a law was made, empowering the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council to make rules for the regulation of our principal corporations. By one of those, no magistrate can act until approved of by the chief governor and council; and that the corporation of Dublin was within this provision. He took notice of another instance in the town of Galway, where the Lord Chancellor, by an act made soon after the accession of King George I. is empowered to make four magistrates of that corporation during his Majesty's pleasure. The motives then were different, but the necessity here is of a much stronger nature, and yet no new magistrate is made. The necessity was the insufficiency of the civil power to preserve the peace in Dublin, which had been on some very important occasions acknowledged by some of its magistrates. He took notice that instead of debating on the merits of the bill, gentlemen had discussed the merits of the administration; and because they thought proper to say they disapproved of the latter, plainly avowed their resolution to condemn the former. He should therefore vote for the committal, because he approved of the bill, and not because he approved of the administration, however highly he may esteem it, who would never risque their high professional characters by laying before the House an unconstitutional bill.

He concluded with observing, that the bill came before them under the sanction of the great legal authorities, which he thought ought to be a strong inducement to the House to consider this bill in a committee.

Mr. **WARBURTON** said he was a friend to the principle of the bill; it would have prevented much mischief if sooner adopted.

Mr. **MONTGOMERY** (of Donegal)—I have very seldom voted with the present minister—I believe this will be but the second time—but the bill is so founded in good sense, in good govern-

ment, and is so absolutely necessary, that really I cannot vote against it. If there is any thing exceptionable, I trust it will be remedied in the committee.

Mr. DENNIS DALY.—The principle of the bill being universally admitted, I should not have troubled the House but for something which has been said, and which I think demands to be explained. First, it is said, that the chartered rights of the city ought in no case to be infringed.—In all charters there is a reciprocal duty that they should answer the purposes for which they were granted, so long as they were suffered to remain inviolate; when they cease to answer that purpose, it would be absurd, often mischievous, to continue them. Now is there one in Ireland, one in England, one in the empire, but knows that the charter of the city of Dublin has not answered the purpose for which it was granted—of protecting the persons and properties of the citizens—the facts are too notorious and too disgraceful.

The second objection was, that if you do not delay this bill you will make an uproar. I say the contrary. If you do delay it, you will make an uproar, for there are too many persons in this kingdom who feel themselves interested to prevent the establishment of a good police, and they have influence enough to get petitions against it; I am therefore for committing the bill for a short day, for as it is a bill to strengthen the hands of government for the public benefit, and as I am convinced that the safety of every man's life and property in Ireland depends at this moment upon the hands of government being strengthened, I would lose no time in passing the bill.

Mr. FORBES said he had not intended to have troubled the House this night, but for an expression that fell from a right honourable friend of his [Mr. Daly] and every thing that fell from that gentleman, always carried with it no small impression. The right honourable gentleman had said, that it was absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of government, and that we should have a strong executive government; but surely the hands of government are not to be strengthened at the expence of the constitution. Another gentleman on the floor [Mr. Moore] had said that unanimity was necessary in this measure; in this he perfectly agreed with the honourable gentleman; but he submitted to the House, was it decent to hurry a bill of such magnitude as the present, at a time when some of the most respectable characters of the House were attending their duty at the assizes. Would it not be disrespectful in the highest degree to these gentlemen? Some gentlemen had scouted the idea of members of parliament neglecting their parliamentary attendance, and preferring their business at the assizes: This was an unfounded argument; surely such an idea could not proceed from ignorance! Who should attend at

assizes but gentlemen respectable for their fortune and character, to add dignity to the representatives of Majesty, and to give support and efficacy to the laws?—He asked, where was the necessity for hastening this bill? He declared for his part, if gentlemen on the side of administration consented to postpone this bill to the first of May, he should have no objection to its being committed; at the same time he could assure the House, that he was as anxious as any gentleman possibly could be, for an end of the session, being perfectly confident that this nation would never derive any benefit whilst the right honourable gentleman on the floor was the ostensible minister of this country.

In regard to the bill that is the present subject of debate, he had compared it with the one that had been introduced into the British House of Commons last session of parliament by the Attorney General of England, and which was so reprobated, not only by the whole kingdom, but also by the whole House of Commons, that the introducer was so ashamed of it that, under a pretence of some flaw in the bill, he was glad to withdraw it.—Here Mr. Forbes described the general outlines of the bill, and first, as to government wanting to make additional creatures of the aldermanic board, he did not think that any way necessary, for no instance could be adduced of any preceding board of aldermen being so attached to administration as the present. He declared himself a friend to a well digested police bill, but gentlemen confounded the principle of the present bill with its object, and the objects of the bill are notoriously to make the majority of the board of aldermen pensioners, during pleasure. He asked what would become of the remainder of the magistrates, who were not to be provided for. It will, said he, be degrading the situation of that once respectable office so low, that no man of any spirit will be found to accept of it. Gentlemen must admit that this bill vests the commissioners, and those acting under them, with the most extraordinary powers, and the degree of responsibility is by no means proportioned to those powers; it gives every security to the magistrates, but none to the people; every precaution is taken to guard the magistrate, but no precaution whatever is taken for the subject. As to that part of the bill that gives a power to petit constables, to make persons they meet in the night give a good account of themselves, he was glad the bill was not in force the other night, for if it was, several gentleman leaving this House might find themselves in a disagreeable dilemma, not being able perhaps to give a good account of themselves. He concluded his speech with laying that he should reserve himself for another occasion, and if gentlemen on the side of administration did not consent to postpone the bill to the first of May, he should oppose it in every stage; at the same time he declared he was ready to assist in framing a bill for regulating the police of the city.—Let

the magistrates of Dublin, said he, form a plan, and if they want the aid of an act, let them apply to parliament.

Mr. MOORE said, when he recommended unanimity he was not so foolish, or so little acquainted with the discordant particles which composed the House of Commons, to imagine that unanimity to the bill in all its detail could be had; he only wished unanimity as to the principle, and that being obtained, he was satisfied.

The question being put on committing the bill, it was carried without a division.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then moved that the bill be committed on Saturday next.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I trust my right honourable friend will excuse me, should I animadvert on a bill drawn by him which contains matter of such extraordinary magnitude as, in my opinion, requires little apology for investigating their merits. It is impossible I can, therefore, speak decisively on a subject which I have been denied time to study; and I hope, if in stating some of the principles of it I should fall into any thing desultory, that I will experience the indulgence of the House.

My motive for entering at this period into any investigation of the subject, is to prepare gentlemen for what they have to encounter; and as the subject has, indeed, with uncommon indelicacy, been hurried through the House, I think my humble abilities are never better employed than when I am exposing the fallacy and deceit conspicuous in every part of a bill the most obnoxious and alarming that ever, perhaps, arrested the attention of an Irish senate. The great arguments, in my opinion, in favour of this bill, are not only weak, futile and absurd, but they confute what the advocates of the bill would wish to support—the necessity of carrying the matter into immediate execution.—Why so? Because of the disturbances in the country and this city. No man perhaps regrets these circumstances more than I do; but I cannot coincide with gentlemen, who say they are forced to apply any thing rather than suffer these outrages to go on further.

If any person has a right to rail against the proceedings which have formerly happened, I am he; I had particular knowledge of the disturbance of them days; and I found, in consequence of a letter I had written to the Lord Mayor, that he was competent to quell the misguided tumult, and protect my person; were it even not the case, I solemnly declare that, as an individual, I would rather fall the victim of infatuation, than to be the occasion of destroying the liberty of my country.

I would ask gentlemen if they think it right to infringe charters to preserve the police of the city?—An infringement undeniable as

unnecessary ; since you take the power out of the hands of the Lord Mayor, whose power is certainly sufficient to preserve order and regularity, to place it in the hands of a banditti, in whom the people can have no faith : What a lame, what a ridiculous pretext, to say the disturbances that have happened years since will warrant so unconstitutional a proceeding. If gentlemen look into the cause of these riots, they will find it not to be attributed to the giddy minds of the populace, as I am well founded in my belief that these unfortunate men were the objects of delusion. But I would ask what are our riots compared to those of London ? Nothing ; and yet we hear of no police bill there of such a nature as this before the House. I own outrages in a free country lamentable ; but what we have experienced is not sufficient to give sanction to a law the most infamous that ever dared to face a free parliament.

This police bill does nothing—it is wisely brought in to correct abuses, which have happened, and which are now obliterated from our memory : What feasible scheme then for bringing in a bill for the improvement of the police of Dublin, at a period distinguished for being peaceable ? Throw off the mask and declare the real intent of this bill—a bill of patronage, and not of police.—What does it do ? Why truly it gives pensions to the aldermen of Dublin, to reduce to a state of tranquillity the county of Cork.

From this bill we learn that there are to be a numerous establishment of places. If these are eligible for members of parliament, I call on you to consider your independency. I know some of the salaries may be small ; but ministerial favours vegetate in the sunshine of a court, and grow into consequence, as the minister requires the support of venality to push a favourite or obnoxious measure.

On the other hand, if a diminution of salaries may be thought requisite, these commissioners and their armed tribe may make themselves members of parliament, and set up a little commonwealth of their own, to the great disappointment of those who have vested them with extensive and unconstitutional powers. It will operate well in an aggregate or magisterial capacity for administration to have a number of men at their beck. Perhaps government may have occasion for them. The great alarm that has been founded in respect to the police of this city, does not proceed from the want of salutary laws ; it proceeds from the want of putting these laws into execution. Let us see how do you supply that want ; why, by giving pensions to magistrates who in time may grow into the consequence of members of parliament, and make up for their deficiency of conduct in a magisterial capacity, by giving their vote to their honoured patron. I do not say but such a vote may be of service to a minister ; but this much I can with safety pronounce, that it will not be an honest one. The

objection to the aldermen of this city has often been that they have been too courtly; to remedy which evil the sagacious framers of this bill intend to make them the dependents of the crown. Thus the treating the corporation of the board of aldermen to pensions will be inducive to their support of their laws—their feelings will keep in unison to the dictates of their patron, and their gratitude, when he pleases to command, will be kindly obeyed. When I mentioned patronage I was smiled at by the gentlemen on the other side of the House. I confess I see no reason why we should indulge in merriment when the money of the public is on the verge of being prostituted to the vilest purposes.—Thus the magistrates become the creatures of a minister. I would advise him to parcel them out certain portions of the city, and let them receive a daily pay. If they must receive salaries, let the patronage not be in the hands of the crown. The law also determines you are to have constables, &c. to be constantly kept up. The appellation of magistrates, commissioners, and constables, are applied to cover and disguise the intent of embodying this armed banditti. Surely it is not giving an army a name that causes them to lose their nature—No, Sir, this is positively an army in the state, and the misapplication of a phrase cannot remove the idea, that it approaches too near an arbitrary government to have an armed rabble under the influence of the crown. The name of this army may be softened by calling it a militia, but certainly it differs widely from a militia, which is qualified by regular discipline to protect the country in time of war; but the army in negotiation has no qualification, save only being the assassins of liberty, feeding on the vitals of the constitution, and pensioners of the state.

The common men of a regular militia live in time of peace by their labour and industry; the officers by their lands. Now see the difference: On the reverse we are to have a mercenary army, paid by the minister, and differing only from the military because they will come to those meetings from which the soldiery with becoming decency would retire. You knew the indignation of the House would be roused had you avowed the principles of your tumultuary army, your mercenary army, your ministerial army, which you have tucked into your bill like Bayes's army in disguise.

Now, Sir, I am far from thinking that charters are to be destroyed, either for the caprice of a minister or the good of the police.—I see in too many instances the influence of the court extended to the entrenching the charter of this city. I would ask what has made the right honourable member [Mr. Orde] oppose me a minister, but the violation of a charter? I therefore must laugh at the man who supports the charter of the East India Company, and thinks the ancient charter of Dublin, granted in the reign of King John, not worth his attention.

You now, Sir, introduce a bill for the purpose of debauching her magistrates, and dragooning the subject. You are not content

with taking from them the paving board, &c. but you think the mischief is not complete if their charter does not fall a sacrifice to your desires. The destruction of their charter is evidently in contemplation from the power which this bill gives the Lord Lieutenant to appoint county justices to co-operate with those of the city. If you admit other magistrates to participate of the privileges of the magistrates of this city, it is a certain violation of charter, and in such a case I should be glad to know what will become of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs? Are they to remain mere cyphers, a badge of violated charter, or a memento of the virtue of the present glorious administration?

So much for the bill. [Read a clause.] In this clause you enable the constable, under a warrant of information, to break into any house he pleases. Will gentlemen say this is a preservation of the police?—Here let me mention that part of the bill which mentions that no action of trespass is to lie against any violation committed under this act. No modification whatever can reconcile me to the patronizing that clause, for the warrant of the commissioners to a petty constable in this army, is more sacred and gives more power than if he was acting under a warrant of the court of King's Bench; and is it wise or prudent to give such power to such nefarious miscreants; and by the clause no appeal is to lie but from one pensioner to another. I call this a bill of power—a bill of patronage more, much more than a bill of police—Though it may pass now, the people will not bend to it; they will unanimously call for a repeal of this law; it is such I pronounce as cannot be reconciled to the constitution of a free country. Do not, I beseech you, precipitate this measure. I have no object for presuming to give this advice but the public good; for if the people are against it, it will cause infinite trouble. The right honourable gentleman on the floor seemed to scoff at the idea of my introducing a bill that would serve the police without violating the constitution; the task I am far from thinking a difficult one; but I confess if I was to blend patronage with police, it is not an easy task to accomplish; I, therefore, in the name of the people, call on the advocates for this alarming bill, to let it have the presence of a full parliament, and let, if possible, the approbation of your country, and the final decision of this bill go hand in hand. I therefore now move you that this bill be committed for the first day of May next.

Mr. BUSHÉ spoke in favour of the speedy committal of the bill.

Mr. MICHAEL SMITH concluded the debate by saying he did not see the bill till late that day. He thought the object as held out by the bill a good one; but, said he, if it goes to the injury of the constitution, let its object be what it may, it should be scouted from the presence of parliament with every degradation.

I must also express my wishes that the matter may be deliberated upon. I shall hearken coolly to the arguments adduced in favour of the measure, and if any thing objectionable occurs, it may be remedied.—He said, from the features of the bill, he confessed he had not the most partial opinion of its merits; and would for the present not enter into further investigation, but reserve himself for that opportunity when the bill was in committee; and he hoped that the time asked for by the motion made by the right honourable gentleman, would be consented to.

On the question being put, that the bill be committed on the first day of May next, the House divided, when the numbers were,

Ayes - - 37 ——— Noes - - 139

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said, in order to get as long as possible for the consideration of the bill, he hoped that administration would now indulge him, as he had for once voted with them, and agree to the committing of the bill for Monday next. He therefore moved accordingly.

This was opposed by Mr. Mason, on the ground that no time was to be lost in going through the bill; and though the House was very full this night, several gentlemen might leave town before then.

The question was put on Sir Henry Hartstonge's motion, and negatived without a division.

The question was then put that the bill be committed on Saturday next, and carried without a division.

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1786.

The House proceeded to take into consideration the amendments made by the Lords in an engrossed bill, entitled an act for vesting the residue of the real and personal estate of Jane Bonnell, otherwise Conyngham, widow, deceased, in trustees, for the purposes mentioned in her will and codicil.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, after the fair and candid conduct of his right honourable friend, [Mr. Burton Conyngham] who had been the original promoter of the bill now before the House, he did not think it was possible for any person to take exceptions to the measure; much less that any one should, sheltering himself in his situation, dare to utter the most gross and unfounded calumny; the most illiberal and vulgar abuse that ever had fal-

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len from the tongue of man ; not only against the right honourable gentleman in question, but against the whole House of Commons, who had coincided in the bill.

His right honourable friend, he said, finding that a sum from five to six thousand pounds was lying in the hands of the officer of the Court of Exchequer, in order that it might be employed consonant to the will of Mrs. Bonnell, drew up a bill for the purpose of appointing trustees; the bill he submitted to the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, and himself [the Attorney General]; afterwards it was introduced into the House of Commons. While it was in the House of Commons, a certain young gentleman in orders printed a false and most exaggerated account of it; he hoped it was through ignorance, which was the only excuse that could prevent his moving to have him laid by the heels. But, said he, some persons were determined not to let their malice rest here, for when the bill went to another place, the most false, illiberal, ungentlemanlike, and unmerited calumny was thrown out against the right honourable gentleman already alluded to, and against this House, by one whose situation certainly exempts him from the punishment of the ducking-stool, or any other chastisement usually inflicted on scolds or calumniators, but whom I shall find a means of teaching to treat with good manners the gentlemen of the country which feeds him.

The amendments made by the Lords were then read.

When that amendment was read which makes all the bishops trustees, the Attorney General proposed to amend it with these words, " the Right Reverend John Law, Bishop of Clonfert, only excepted."

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON expressed his concern at hearing that the zeal of a very worthy and respectable prelate had carried him to any expressions reflecting on a member of that House, who had so much promoted the public good, and who was so generally respected. But he hoped allowance would be made for what the warmth of debate might have led him into, on a subject in which he conceived his own order and the public were much interested. He was confident that those who knew him best must have the strongest conviction of his general benevolence. That whatever respectability any man could claim from descent, he might, as his father was one of the most venerable prelates of our sister kingdom, and had been for above fifty years as an author on the most sublime and the most important subjects, one of the brightest ornaments of his country that this century had produced.

The son, he said, had been transplanted into this kingdom; and he did not believe it contained any native who more sincerely wished to promote its welfare, or would be more active in pursuit of it.

He therefore hoped the right honourable gentleman would withdraw his motion.

Mr. BURTON CONYNGHAM said he was not displeased at what had happened in another House, as it gave him an opportunity of knowing the very favourable opinion which the noble members of that House, and also his most honoured friends, the members of the House of Commons, entertained of him; and as to the calumny that had been uttered against him by a single person, he felt for it the most sovereign contempt.

Mr. BURGH (of Oldtown) said he entertained as much respect for the right honourable member who spoke last as any person possibly could for another; he would not attempt to defend the gross terms that had been used against him, but he would boldly venture to assert that they did not arise from malevolence. From his own knowledge, and the high degree of esteem in which the prelate alluded was held by the first and best men in England, he was certain that what he said could arise from no unworthy motive—it was from a mistaken zeal to do right—no man possessed a better heart; but the excluding of the bishops, and vesting the estate in other trustees, seemed to him a monopoly, and where the widows of clergymen were the objects of the bequest, it was natural for a bishop, warm in the cause of humanity, to think himself insulted by being excluded from a power of promoting their welfare.

He said he also thought that it would be unworthy the dignity of the House to stigmatize a gentleman by name, for indiscreet words uttered in the warmth of debate; he was very certain the House would repent of it when too late—when they found that there was not a worthier, more estimable man in England than the gentleman who had unfortunately excited such indignation.

Mr. COOTE said he rose to maintain the dignity of the House, which had been insulted; such foul calumny called for the resentment of every man.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON excused the reverend prelate, who with too much zeal and ardour for what he thought was right, had perhaps used expressions not strictly parliamentary.

Mr. GRIFFITH said it was well known that the character of the right honourable gentleman stood in no need of vindication, and he had great doubts whether the method proposed was founded in propriety. He thought every member of either House had a right to say what he pleased—[House, no, no, no.]—provided he did not trespass upon the order of his House; if he did, the House was to call him to order. At all events, if the Commons thought themselves insulted, the proper mode of redress was by appointing a committee to enquire into the insult.

As to the reverend prelate, his simple, open, honest character,

the goodness of his heart, and the respect due to his family and connections, should shield him from such reproach, especially as the right honourable gentleman offended must feel his own weight and worth too forcibly to think such a mark of resentment necessary.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said no man could entertain an higher opinion than he did of the right honourable gentleman who had been so unreasonably and unjustly attacked; but as the prelate had already got a pretty good dressing, he was for letting him off.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Nothing can be more disagreeable to me than animadversions on any man in public or private, but where a person, sheltering himself in another House, attacks the honour and reputation of a member of this, and in such a way that the member cannot defend himself, the member is entitled to our protection and support.—If what the reverend prelate said was upon misconception, it would be honourable in him to avow it, and make a proper apology; but whether he does or not, I know my right honourable friend too well to suppose he will take any further notice, satisfied as he must be in the consciousness of his own integrity, and in the honourable testimony which this House has borne of him.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL said he did not like the idea of legislative resentment; what would future ages suppose when they saw the name of a particular bishop excepted in a corporation instituted to dispense a charity? They must suppose he had been guilty of sacrilege, or some other horrid crime.

Mr. BURTON CONYNGHAM, after very grateful acknowledgments to the House, proposed that the Attorney General should withdraw the motion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—Since it is the desire of the right honourable gentleman, I will, with leave of the House, withdraw the motion; but in so doing, I hope I will not be deemed to have acquiesced in the most abominable abuse that, under the masque of public good, was ever uttered to gratify malevolence. What has now passed will, I hope, be a lesson to all who may be inclined to follow so bad an example.

Mr. GARDINER said he had known the right reverend prelate alluded to at Cambridge; they were of the same years standing in that university, where he had the character of the greatest learning and most simple manners. He was certain that he was incapable of any malevolent intention, and he was also certain that the right honourable gentleman's character was too elevated to be injured by malevolence.

The **SPEAKER** rose, and said, nothing which concerned himself merely could induce him to give the House the smallest trouble, but his regard to the privileges of the House obliged him to take notice of a gross misrepresentation which had been made of the speech that it had been his duty to make at the bar of the House of Lords when he presented the money bills, and which the Commons had honoured him so far as to deem it worthy to be printed on their Journals. The speech attributed to him, in the misrepresentation, bore not, he said, the least likeness or similitude, in word or sentiment, to that which he had delivered; and the crime of such misrepresentation he thought much aggravated by the circumstance of the true speech being in print, to which the persons offending might have referred. In looking over the precedents, he found that on former occasions, similar to the present, the Speaker had laid the papers on the table.

He then laid them on the table.

The **CLERK** then read from the *Volunteers Journal* of the 22d of this month, and also from the *Dublin Journal* of the 23d, a publication purporting to be the speech of the right honourable the Speaker, made on the 21st at the bar of the House of Lords.

The **ATTORNEY GENERAL**.—As the papers are suffered to publish the proceedings of parliament, it is extremely necessary they should be obliged to speak the truth, especially of you, Sir, whose speech is of so much importance. I will therefore move, that the publications just now read are wilful and gross misrepresentations of fact, tending to deceive the public, and are daring and gross violations of the privileges of this House.

The **CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER**.—The offence committed by the printers of the papers just now read, is much greater than the misrepresentation of any ordinary speech, as nothing has more frequently redounded to the honour of parliament, and the benefit of the nation, than the speech of the Speaker at the bar of the Lords.—I second the right honourable gentleman's motion.

Sir **JOHN BLAQUIERE**.—The misrepresentation has impressed every gentleman who has heard it most strongly with resentment; but as to the specific motion before us, I think there is no necessity for setting out with an assertion, that the misrepresentation was wilful. Perhaps when the men come to your bar they will say it was imbecility; perhaps they will humble themselves, and, declaring their sorrow, intreat your forgiveness.

The **SECRETARY OF STATE** said he agreed with Sir John Blaquiere, that in order to leave room for mercy the word wilful should be left out.

The word was struck out accordingly, and the question being put upon the resolution, it passed unanimously.

An order was then made, that the Printers of the Volunteers and Dublin Journals do attend at the bar to-morrow.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said he rose to say a few words concerning the affairs of Mr. Brooke, of Prosperous. As representative of the county in which Captain Brooke had established his extensive manufactory, and as being acquainted with the situation, value, and advantage of his works, he had thought it his duty to exert himself on the committee, and to use his utmost endeavours to prevent so very great an object from being lost to the public. However, from some leading persons differing with him in opinion, he found that the business was not likely to come to an happy issue in his hands, and therefore he withdrew himself from it.

He said as to the establishment of a manufactory at Prosperous, it was an undertaking of the very first importance to the nation, and he saw, if it fell, that multitudes of people must be turned loose upon the public, to commit riots and depredations, or to emigrate to foreign countries, particularly to France, where a great cotton manufactory, under the patronage and protection of the King, was now establishing, so that not only Ireland but the empire would sustain an irreparable loss if artificers were obliged to seek for an asylum amongst our rivals. A proposal had come from government to abate 16,000*l.* of the debt due by Mr. Brooke, provided the remaining 16,000*l.* was forthwith paid, and security given to carry on the manufactory. Ten thousand had been offered, and the difference was the only point in question. He did not presume to say how far government ought to concede, but he hoped something would be done to prevent the ruin of so great an undertaking; he therefore left the matter with them. He had doubts whether the manufactory existed at that moment.

Mr. ORDE.—It is impossible for me not to rise, being so strongly alluded to, though this is the first time I ever thought that any one could suppose I was responsible to the country for the success of the undertaking at Prosperous.

I never made any objection on the part of government to the demands made for that undertaking, but I objected on the part of the public, who had already a great debt due from it; and when it was proposed that the public should relinquish that debt, I thought it behoved me, standing in the situation I did, to enquire what had been done with the former grants of public money, before any new ones were made.

It was stated, that Mr. Brooke's debts amounted to 77,000*l.* I thought it was odd that no mention was made of the time when these debts were incurred, or of the causes incurring them, therefore when it was proposed that the public should relinquish the

whole of their debt, in order that Mr. Brooke might pay his private creditors, I own I thought it a little unreasonable, and wished to examine the matter attentively.

Gentlemen will remember that this House granted in one sum 25,000*l.* to Mr. Brooke on securities, to be paid back at a distant day. He received other aids, which were given without any bond; but in September, 1784, an application was made to government, stating, that the manufactory would be totally ruined if not aided still further. Government, to prevent the undertaking from sinking, ventured to advance 7000*l.* more.

Under these circumstances the matter rested till the last session, when Mr. Brooke again applied to parliament. He stated, that having given security to twice the amount of the sums borrowed from the public, he found it impossible to raise money for carrying on his business, all his property being bound; he therefore desired that security, to the amount of his public debt only, might be accepted, and that his other security might be discharged. This the House complied with, including the 7000*l.* which sum was made payable the November following. November soon came round, and then it was said the manufactory could not exist without farther relief. I mention this, because it has been said that government gave Mr. Brooke room to hope for more assistance, which, though I think the manufacture of great national importance, and though I feel as much for the individual as his conduct warrants, I think they would not be justifiable in doing without the approbation of this House. I cannot see why the public should waive all claim to their whole debt due by Mr. Brooke, while his private creditors should be paid at once a number of debts not well understood.

I considered Mr. Brooke's affairs as come to a crisis; that a composition with his creditors was necessary, and that the public was the principal creditor. I wished to know what security could be given, that there should be no hazard of the manufacture being lost, and I was induced to think the public ought to be taken care of, by observing, that the greater part of Mr. Brooke's private debts were incurred after the last 7000*l.* lent by the public. His debt to the public is, 32,000*l.* to private persons, 45,000*l.* half of which was contracted in the last twelve months, therefore I thought it a little unreasonable that his private creditors should be paid at once; the public, perhaps, never.

Government, however, proposed that if Mr. Brooke would pay back 16,000*l.* of the 32,000*l.* he was indebted to the public, they would relinquish the remaining 16,000*l.* his private creditors doing as much. He would then have received greater public aid than any manufacturer ever did in any country, and would have a clear, unembarrassed capital of 18000*l.* to continue his trade.

I have stated this matter as simply as possible, and hope it will acquit me of the supposition of having interfered improperly;

on the contrary, I think government has given pretty strong proofs of a disposition to promote the manufactures of this country. As to the matter being in my hands, it never was; yet I believe if any reasonable proposal is made, the House will be ready to accept it.

Mr. WOLFE said he had not the most distant thought of reflecting on government in their conduct towards Mr. Brooke; it had been most fair and honourable. He only lamented that something could not be done to prevent the manufacture from sinking. He acknowledged that government were the trustees for the public, but so far as their duty to the public would permit, he hoped they would be mindful of the manufacture. He again assured the House he had no intention of throwing an imputation upon any man.

Mr. ORDE said he had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the honourable gentleman's declarations; he believed he had acted upon the purest and most honourable principles in the world, and thought the public were much obliged to him.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said, that although he had not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Brooke, yet from the character he had heard of him from so many respectable gentlemen, he was impressed with a real concern for his situation. That he was in the House when Mr. Brooke obtained the grant of 25,000*l.* and was then of opinion, that with the best intentions he would not be able to make good his engagement of repaying that sum, with the interest, from the profits of his undertaking, which opinion of his had been strengthened by that of several gentlemen in the commercial line. He said that much stress had been laid on this manufacture, as a great national object, and so in truth it was; but Mr. Brooke was not the sole manufacturer, other gentlemen had embarked largely in it, from their own private fortune; and he requested gentlemen would consider the very great injustice of supporting any one person from the national purse, to undersell all others who had not a like support. It was doing an injury to the nation, whose funds were dissipated, and hurting the industry and laudable efforts of other manufacturers, who carry on the business on their own bottom. Upon the whole he was of opinion, that the better mode was to dispose of Mr. Brooke's effects to the best advantage for the public and his private creditors. It was probable some company might be found to embark in the undertaking with proper funds and knowledge of the manufacture; and this mode he thought had been hinted at by the right honourable gentleman who had supported the public interest in this business with much candour and ability; and as every one agreed that Mr. Brooke merited much of the nation, he wished that the affair might be conducted with every delicacy and regard to him, and that administration might think him deserving of preferment in a line in which he understood that Mr. Brooke had once made a conspicuous and honourable figure.

Mr. NEVILLE urged the necessity of preserving so great a manufacture to the country. He spoke of Mr. Brooke as a gentleman of the most honourable mind, and hoped some plan might be devised to compromise his debts, and keep the multitude of people in employment.

Mr. CORRY said he was perfectly undecided in this business. If where the public were concerned it was possible for him to have any private bias, it must be rather against Mr. Brooke, and in favour of the manufacturers of Newry, but the general good of the nation was his object, and he thought that would be much promoted if Mr. Brooke's manufacture could be supported.

Mr. DENNIS DALY said he thought the conduct of government towards Captain Brooke had been liberal, even in a reprehensible degree; it was their duty to protect the manufacture, but it was also their duty to protect the public money; and in offering to forego sixteen thousand pounds, he thought they went to the utmost stretch that could be warranted; indeed it was a stride that only could be excused by the intention of preserving to the country a valuable manufacture.

Mr. HAYES (of Donegal) said, the House should not balance sums of money merely, but should compare the benefits which Captain Brooke had derived to the nation with the aids he had received; they should enquire whether he was more benefited by a rent of 1,200*l.* a year, or the nation by having six thousand persons employed. Parliament, it was true, had lent Mr. Brooke the representation of wealth, but he had returned it to the country in real wealth, by rendering it independent of another country in a most valuable branch of manufacture.

Mr. HEWIT said, when he opposed the petition of Mr. Brooke, he did so because it required that Mr. Brooke should be enabled to give twelve months credit, which he thought would be giving him a very unreasonable advantage over the other manufacturers of the country, who were left to struggle for themselves, at the same time, however, no man had more compassion for Mr. Brooke's situation, or would go farther to give him any reasonable support.

Mr. ANNESLEY said he wished to see some plan adopted by which Mr. Brooke should receive such reasonable support as would enable him to reap the fruits of his industry and enterprise.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said it was his duty to bear witness to the disposition which the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde] had shown to promote the manufactures of the kingdom; but in the present case it was impossible for him to

have acted in any other manner than as he had done, from the evidence that appeared. The statement of Mr. Brooke's affairs was, that he was able to pay twenty shillings in the pound: He had offered on the part of the public to be content with ten, but whatever his inclination might be to relieve an amiable character, who was more unfortunate than to blame, he thought he would not be warranted in granting the terms demanded, especially as it appeared that the trade had been carried on so as to sink the capital.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1786.

The order of the day, that the printers and proprietors of the *Volunteers Journal* or *Irish Herald* of the 22d of March instant, and the printers and proprietors of the *Dublin Journal*, of the 23d of March instant, do attend the House, being read, and the House being informed that Mr. James Dowling and Mr. Thomas Byrne attended according to order, Mr. James Dowling was called in, and the *Volunteers Journal* or *Irish Herald* of the 22d of March instant, which was yesterday delivered in at the table, being shewn to him at the bar, he confessed that he was the printer of the said paper, but that he never saw the paragraph which had given offence to the House until it had been printed; but that he meant no disrespect to the House, and had offended inadvertently, and therefore threw himself on their mercy.

He then was ordered to withdraw, and it was resolved, that James Dowling having in the said paper grossly misrepresented the speech of the Speaker of the House, at the bar of the House of Lords, was guilty of a breach of privileges of the House; and it was ordered that James Dowling be called in and reprimanded by the Speaker for said offence: And being brought to the bar, he was reprimanded by the Speaker, and then discharged, paying his fees.

Then Mr. Thomas Byrne being called in, and the *Dublin Journal* of the 23d of March instant, which was also yesterday delivered in at the table, being shewn to him at the bar, he confessed himself the joint proprietor of the said paper; that he copied the paragraph which had given offence to the House from the *Volunteers Journal*; that he saw and acknowledged his error, and threw himself on the mercy of the House.

He was then ordered to withdraw, and it was resolved that Thomas Byrne having in the said paper grossly misrepresented the speech of the Speaker of the House, at the bar of the House of Lords, was guilty of a breach of privileges of the House; and it was ordered, that Thomas Byrne be called in and reprimanded

by the Speaker for said offence; and being brought to the bar, he was reprimanded by the Speaker, and then discharged, paying his fees.

Mr. BOYD said that an honourable friend of his had been traduced in the Hibernian Journal, which asserted that the Attorney General had declared in the debate on the police bill, the other night, that on the 5th of April, 1784, Alderman Green, then Lord Mayor, and Mr. Smith, one of the then Sheriffs, had headed the mob into College-green.—He therefore moved that the printers and proprietors of the Hibernian Journal or Chronicle of Liberty, attend at the bar to-morrow.—Ordered.

Mr. DENIS DALY said he had a petition to present from the Royal Irish Academy for circulating polite literature, &c. in this country. As an individual he would not pretend to judge on its merits, but he knew the institution was extremely meritorious. All polite nations were intent on fostering genius and encouraging science. This was the first attempt of the kind in this country, and it merited protection. He then presented

A petition of the Royal Irish Academy of science, polite literature and antiquities, signed by their president, setting forth, that the petitioners were embodied by royal charter in the year 1785, for the encouragement of science, polite literature and the study of antiquities; that the ends of their institution are much obstructed from their inability to purchase a house necessary for their accommodation; that the petitioners understand that the house in Grafton-street, which has been in the possession of the commissioners for carrying on an inland navigation, and has been commonly called the navigation-house, is soon likely to be in the disposal of parliament; that the said house appears to the petitioners, both from its construction and situation, well adapted to the purposes of their society; and that if the same shall be vested in them they will thankfully hold it on such terms as to the House shall appear reasonable.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL moved for leave to introduce a clause in the police bill for the city of Dublin, to make forcible possessions felony under the act of parliament, if the offenders did not come in within a limited time.—Leave was given.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said that Captain Brooke's affairs were now so arranged as to gain approbation; and he hoped to see the business of Prosperous go on as usual. He gave notice that he would bring forward a motion on that subject on Tuesday next, which he expected would give general satisfaction.

Mr. GRIFFITH offered a petition from the company of undertakers of the grand canal, with two resolutions thereon.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he wished for a full House, before a matter of such importance was agitated.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON also remarking on the thinness of the House, the question of adjournment was put and carried.

The address moved by Mr. Beresford, on Wednesday last, was agreed to by the House, and the blank filled up with the words, "six thousand pounds."

SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1786.

The following message was received from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

" *Mr. Speaker,*

" IT is his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers."

Accordingly the Speaker, with the House, went to attend his Grace; and being returned, the Speaker reported that the House had attended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where his Grace was pleased to give the royal assent to the following bills :

1. An act for granting to his Majesty the duty therein mentioned, to be paid to the trustees of the Royal Exchange.
2. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters within this kingdom.
3. An act for facilitating the trade and intercourse between this kingdom and the United States of America.

The order of the day, that the printers and proprietors of the Hibernian Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty, of the 24th of March instant, do attend the House, was read, and it was discharged, and they were ordered to attend the House on Monday next.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE presented a bill to prevent the malicious destruction of bridges, finger posts and mile stones in this kingdom; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE presented a bill for regulating the tolls and customs, the weigh-masters and porters of the city of Dublin; which was received and read the first time.

A petition of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, agreed on at a public meeting held pursuant to notice, at the Royal Exchange, on Saturday the 25th of March, 1786, and signed by the high sheriffs of the said city, was presented to the House and

read, setting forth that the petitioners have beheld with the deepest concern a bill recently introduced into the House, entitled "A bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin," which manifestly tends to subvert public liberty in the most essential points; that this bill, if passed into a law, would give a very great additional and most dangerous influence to the crown, in matters which intimately regard not only political freedom but the personal liberty and domestic quiet of individuals, an influence which every honest Irishman feels to be at least as extensive as is consistent with the safety of the constitution; that the commissioners of police and other magistrates to carry the purposes of this bill into execution, holding their places at the will of the minister, may become dangerous instruments in his hands, wherewith to harrahs all those persons within their jurisdiction who may constitutionally oppose any ministerial scheme, however ruinous to the interests of their country; that such a law would be grievous in point of taxation in this kingdom, already heavily oppressed by its provisions for burdensome establishments; the petitioners therefore do most earnestly entreat the House to entertain no longer a bill which must destroy the independence of the city, and reduce the first corporation of the kingdom under the influence of the minister; and do also pray that they may be heard by themselves or counsel against the said bill.

Mr. BERESFORD said he should have supposed if the corporation of the city, in whom the exclusive right of magistracy and direction of the present police lay, had thought themselves aggrieved, they would have petitioned themselves, and not have left the matter in the hands of the aggregate body.

Mr. HARTLEY replied, that whatever concerned the magistrates, or the corporation, concerned the freemen also, who made a large part of the corporation, who are the persons who have the exclusive right to elect, and be elected magistrates—a right which their charter granted them, and which they held extremely dear; besides, he thought they had very good cause to be alarmed, when it was considered the influence which the bill gave the minister over the magistrates.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—If any argument was wanting to prove the necessity of the bill, it is the frequency of these tumultuous assemblies, called aggregate meetings, assembled at the

instigation of persons who, no doubt, are very inimical to the bill, as it goes to restrain licentiousness, and to teach those worthy constitutional citizens a due deference for the laws of their country.

They behold with the deepest concern a police bill introduced—I doubt it not. If passed into a law, it will give great additional influence to the crown—I doubt not they think it will prevent an opposition to the laws; that it will preserve the public peace, and that there will be an end to that branch of police, the tarring and feathering committee. There will be an end to the worshipful company of glafs-blowers, a set of ruffians hired and paid by those worthy constitutional gentlemen, to drag from his habitation any citizen that refuses to take such illegal oaths as they were pleased to administer, or who is suspected of a due regard to the laws and government of the country; to drag free citizens to the Tenter-fields, and there to torment them with whipping and other marks of ignominy; and therefore I doubt not that a plan for a regular police has greatly alarmed the worthy gentlemen who in general promote the calling of aggregate meetings, as it will put an end to that kind of opposition to the laws which they are always ready to give.

The petitioners desire to be heard by themselves or their counsel—I own I would much rather hear themselves, if I was only to consider my private amusement, as I think the constitutional doctrine I should hear would amply compensate my attention; but as to this House, I have too much respect to consent that it should be impeded in carrying on the national business, or that it should grant that delay which is the manifest object of the worthy and constitutional leaders of the aggregate body.

Mr. FORBES said that he was much surprised to hear the arguments advanced by the right honourable gentleman [the Attorney General.] They appeared to him rather singular; the right honourable member represented the petitioners as a set of such lawless persons, that he presumed that the right honourable member intended to lay the sheriffs who signed the petition, by the heels next term in the King's Bench; the right honourable member objected that the corporation of Dublin had not petitioned against the bill; perhaps that objection would be removed on Monday next, as there was to be a meeting of the members of the corporation on that day, to consider the bill. The right honourable member had said that all the inhabitants of Dublin might as well have petitioned as the freemen and freeholders of the city; if the right honourable member wished for another aggregate meeting, it could soon be convened. The right honourable member had animadverted severely on the sentiments and language of the petition; but he would soon produce proof that others had expressed sentiments and opinions on the principles of that bill in language more strong, severe and decided than that of the present petition.

He said he had in his hand a copy of the police bill introduced into the House of Commons of England last session, by the Solicitor General; that the bill resembled the Irish bill in all the essential parts; indeed the principal difference between the two bills was this: The Irish bill was more exceptionable. Gentlemen, continued he, may say that the commissioners of police in the English bill were not to be aldermen of London; but there was a greater tenderness and respect shewn for the rights of the corporation of London, than for those of Dublin, by the present bill; for by the English bill, no warrant of a justice of Middlesex or Surry could be executed in the city of London, unless endorsed by the lord mayor or an alderman, whereas by the present bill, the warrant of a justice of the county of Dublin could be executed in the city of Dublin without being backed or endorsed by a magistrate of the city.— This was an invasion of the chartered rights of the corporation of Dublin. Having established the similarity between the police bill brought into the English House last session, and the present bill, he said he would now shew the House the sentiments of the corporation of London on the principles of that bill. He then read from the English votes the petition to the House of Commons from the lord mayor and aldermen of London, against the police bill; in which they stated, that the principle of the bill was so unconstitutional, that it was incapable of amendment or modification; that it was impossible to reconcile the English nation to the bill; and praying the House to reject it, and prevent the people from being reduced under the scourge of such a system. He said that after what he had stated, he should trespass on the patience of the House were he to enter into any more argument, to prove the necessity of affording every description of men, who considered that they might be affected by a bill of such novelty and magnitude, an opportunity of being heard by counsel; that from what he had stated, a measure of this sort ought not to be adopted without the greatest deliberation. He trusted that the House would prove by their conduct this night, that they were as much attached to the support of their own dignity, to the preservation of the rights of the first corporation in the kingdom, and the security of the liberties of the people, as the House of Commons of England, or any other assembly whatsoever. He had a confidence in the members of the House, that they, as well as the English Commons, would rescue the people from the scourge of such a system; he trusted that the minister of Ireland, would in this instance imitate the administration of Great Britain, and withdraw this bill, as they did the police bill last session, when they found the citizens of London so averse to it; he should at least imitate Mr. Pitt, who, when at one stage of the business he was asked whether he intended to urge on a police bill, said that he certainly should not bring any measure on that subject forward till after he knew the

result of the meeting to be held in the county of Middlesex, respecting a police bill. There was to be a meeting of the corporation of the city, and of the freeholders of the county of Dublin on Monday next. He trusted administration would not urge this bill forward till the result of that meeting was known.—The petition from the corporation of London was not a measure of opposition; for it was notorious that no minister for some years in England, possessed the confidence and approbation of the corporation of London to a greater degree than Mr. Pitt did at that period; but the defects of the police bill were so obvious, and the consequences of it so dangerous, that every personal consideration was lost in the magnitude of the evil with which the people were threatened.—He said it was worthy of observation that ministry in the reign of Charles II. when they seized on the charter of the city of London, offered to restore it on condition that the citizens would submit to having the magistrates for the city of London appointed by the crown, and removeable at its pleasure. The ministry prevailed by corrupt influence on a majority of the members of that corporation to agree to this condition; but when they were required by the minister of that day to sign their names to a consent to the effect stated, even they refused, and declared that they could not by subscribing their names to such an instrument, transmit to posterity a record of such an infamous and base dereliction of the rights of the citizens and corporation of London.

Mr. BROWNLOW.—I am sorry to see the petition of the respectable and loyal city of Dublin treated with neglect. It appears by the signing of the sheriffs that the assembly was legally convened; we are not to consider the individuals which composed it, though I have reason to think they were both numerous and respectable.

The abilities of a right honourable gentleman are capable of turning any thing into ridicule, but I cannot think that ridicule is the test of truth. Let the petitioners come to your bar, either by themselves or their counsel; let them state their objections; this House cannot be misled by them if they are not founded in reason, and if they are, the House need not be ashamed of being informed and set right.

We all agree that an improvement of the police of the city is absolutely necessary, but we may not all be able to agree to the particular clauses; some of them perhaps are too strong, as the city never was more quiet than at present; and as the citizens conceive that they invade their charter, they ought at least to be heard on the subject. But the corporation of the city are not the only persons concerned; the bill extends its influence to every place within the circular road, a space that from time to time contains almost every man of consequence in the nation.

I think the bill degrades the chief magistrate; it makes him no more than a clerk of the market, whereas the power to the commissioners is enormous.

A bill was proposed early in this session by a right honourable gentleman [Sir John Blaquiére.] whose attention to the happiness and convenience of the citizens has been very conspicuous. That bill might have been carried into effect at the same expence that is paid to support an insignificant watch; but that it seems was not sufficient; it gave no patronage, it only provided for the peace and safety of the citizens.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he deemed the importance of the bill a reason for going forthwith into an investigation of it in the committee, where gentlemen would have opportunity of rejecting whatever they did not approve, where the good or bad consequences of each clause might be debated, and those parts only of the bill which promised benefits to the public might be retained. An honourable gentleman, he observed, had quoted a petition from the city of London on a similar occasion; he supposed it had been justly quoted, but even so, it did not apply to the present bill, which was most materially different from the English bill.—If the corporation of the city of Dublin had deemed itself injured, the corporation would have complained; but the corporation had not complained.

Mr. FORBES said the freemen's rights were invaded, and as a branch of the corporation, the gentleman's argument made against him. He sat down with repeating, the corporation would petition if they were allowed time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he doubted not that the same influence which had obtained the petition now before the House, would obtain one from the corporation; however, as the corporation was to consider the bill on Monday, he was for debating it in the mean time, that they might fully understand what it contained.—He then went into a comparison of the English and Irish bills at length, to shew that nothing had been retained in the latter that could in the smallest degree prove injurious to the rights of citizens; nothing to diminish the authority of the magistrates, but, on the contrary, every thing was added that could extend and enlarge that authority for the public happiness and security.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM.—The right honourable member who spoke last, dwells much on the corporation not having petitioned against it. I believe they could not sooner have done it, agreeable to the rules of their assembly; there must be three days notice given; as the bill was only printed on Wednesday, and they could not receive a requisition until Thursday; but the right

honourable member seems to have certain information that no corporate petition will be presented against it. That must arise from his knowledge that he and his friends have fixed a golden padlock to the mouths of the venerable aldermen. However, he hoped that the innate virtue of the citizen would prevail, and that a petition from the corporate body would appear on Monday, as there were several virtuous and truly respectable men in that body.

Mr. GRATTAN.—The speeches of some of the gentlemen of the other side of the House are a lampoon upon the city.

Who composed the meeting of the citizens this day assembled I know not, but this I do know, that we are not entitled to despise them.

The city of London petitioned against that very police bill from whence this was taken—a bad bill, but better than this. The petitioners were respected, and the bill was dropped. To the strength of this precedent we are answered, that the body from whence the London petition came, was most respectable—Thus the distinction is made, to exist in the contempt which you are advised to entertain for the city of Dublin.—This is the argument—the commons of England paid attention to the petition of London, because the body was respectable, and the Commons of Ireland would pay no attention to the petition of Dublin, because her citizens are despicable.—We have been told more—it has been intimated that the petitioners have been the rioters of the last year, and enemies to the execution of the law.—Sir, when I see a petition purporting to be that of the freemen and citizens of Dublin legally convened, signed by their sheriff, and introduced by their representative, I am not warranted to suppose that the petitioners were a set of criminals: When their petition speaks of constitutional or political freedom, I am not justified in supposing that they mean any thing more than the natural import of those intelligible expressions.—That the London petition was the act of the corporation, and that this petition is the act of the freemen and citizens, is in my mind no reason for refusing countenance to the latter, as if the freemen and citizens of Dublin, whose rights are affected so deeply by this bill, had nothing to say to it; as if the corporation of this city was the only thing affected, and that all the citizens and inhabitants of the metropolis had no interest or franchise in the city of Dublin.

That the corporation has not petitioned, seems to me no argument, because they could not conveniently read and examine the bill, and then have appointed a meeting sooner than Monday; but they have appointed a meeting, and a meeting within a reasonable time; the result we cannot foresee; but I think we might wait. Hear the citizens; they have petitioned with modesty, and should be treated with decorum.

Mr. DENNIS DALY.—I agree that the petition of every subject should be heard, except in a few particular well known cases; and I think in the present case the utmost attention has been given to the petition; it has been read at length, very much considered, and now lies on the table for every member to peruse. But it is a mistake to say that every man has a right to be heard by counsel, except to defend his property or his charter. In the present case, I think gentlemen ought to shew that the bill affects either, before we can agree to let the petitioners be heard by their counsel.

Mr. BOYD said he was for going directly into a committee upon the bill. He observed that the galleries were extremely full of citizens; he was desirous they should be convinced that there was no intention of invading their rights, as had been insinuated. He thought the charter of the city, far from being invaded, would receive additional strength and lustre, by extending the power and authority of the magistrates; and as to what had been so much complained of, (the exemption from actions of damage given to constables acting under the proposed bill) it was no more than every petty constable in the land enjoyed when officiating in the line of his duty.

Mr. MASON said he rose only to make a short observation. It had been said that gentlemen had pronounced a lampoon against the city, but in his opinion the severest lampoon that could be pronounced was by these gentlemen who supposed the city either so ignorant as not to know when their chartered rights are attacked, or so supine as not to defend them.

Mr. MICHAEL SMITH.—A right honourable gentleman has let something fall which I think necessary to have explained, as it comes from so great authority. He is of opinion that the people ought to be heard by their counsel where they stated that a bill affected their property or their charter.

Mr. DALY.—I really did not say where they stated, but where their charter or property were affected, and I call upon gentlemen to shew me where they were.

Mr. SMITH.—I thought I had repeated the right honourable gentleman's words, but it seems I have not. However, the petitioners have stated that both their property and charter are attacked, and how is it possible for them to substantiate their statement if they are not allowed to be heard? And yet gentlemen will reject their petition, and then take it for granted it is impossible for them to prove the allegations it contains.

They apprehend, perhaps justly, that this bill affects their liberty; besides is there not taxation in it? If so, will it not affect their property? And then upon the right honourable gentleman's own ground, they ought to be heard.

Mr. DALY.—I said where the property of the subject was affected, he ought to be heard, except in a few well known instances; one of them is where a tax is proposed, and that is the case in this bill.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he rose for the purpose of preventing gentlemen who had just come into the House from misconceiving the question upon which they were going to vote. A petition from the freeholders and freemen of the city of Dublin, legally assembled, praying to be heard by counsel against the police bill, had been presented by one of the members for the city, who had moved that the prayer of the petition should be granted. Upon this the order of the day had been called for, which in the present instance was a sort of previous question upon the motion of his honourable friend.—Such a mode of proceeding required but to be stated, in order to be reprobated from every part of the House. He had not yet heard any thing like an argument advanced to defend such a conduct; and the ablest advocates on that side of the House, had been obliged to resort to the wretched expedient of endeavouring to throw a ridicule upon the petitioners. He could not think it was decent for any man in that House, to treat the citizens of Dublin with contempt when they came to the bar of the Commons, and respectfully implored to be heard in defence of their dearest rights. He was not surprised at the extreme impatience of the treasury bench, to go into a committee on the bill: They were desirous, he supposed, of quieting the minds of the people, and of removing from themselves the odium which must necessarily attend the bill in its present state, by expunging and materially altering several clauses which doubtless had been inserted for no other purpose than to be conceded to country gentlemen, and to take them in with a display of candour, while administration took care to retain what they considered as the most essential part of the bill; namely, the patronage. He then alluded to several parts of the bill, which he supposed were never seriously intended to be carried into a law, because they were incompatible with every principle of the constitution; and concluded with intreating, that if gentlemen were determined to go into the committee to-night, they would at least agree to hear the petitioners by counsel on the report.

Mr. BURGH (of Old-town)—It has been insinuated that gentlemen who oppose this bill oppose the improvement of the police, and give thereby an approbation to the scandalous abuses which have disgraced the capital, but if we admit that to prevent abuses we are to part with our free constitution, we may as well adopt at once the police of Paris, which is the best police in the world.

As to any suspicion that has been excited against the bill, it comes from the supporters of it themselves. On the first day of

the session, the Lord Lieutenant, in a manner that did honour to his station, recommended an improvement of the police; why did not the servants of the crown then immediately bring forward the bill? They are as able lawyers as ever existed in any country, yet they have been more than two months in framing a bill which they expect an House of Commons, composed of country gentlemen chiefly, will be able to understand in four days.

Gentlemen take much credit to themselves from the corporation of the city not having come forward; but by the rules of the city four days notice must be given for the corporation meeting, and I think they have acted with becoming dignity in not having broken through their rules; but they are to meet on Monday, and to that day only do we wish to adjourn the bill.

There is one clause in the bill which affects not the corporation only, but every man who has an house, every man who has an hovel, or the vilest garret in the city; a clause which, I say, this House is not competent to enact. Will any man say this House is competent to abolish Magna Charta? I say it is not; and I say, if any man acting under this clause shall dare to break into my house, to invade my privacy—the privacy of my wife—my daughters—I will meet him with Magna Charta in one hand, and an instrument of death in the other: And I now declare before the living God, that no man shall ever enforce that clause in an house where I am master. One of us shall fall. If it be the aggressor, I shall throw myself on my country. If the trial by jury shall then exist, I shall cheerfully submit to trial; if it shall be abolished, perhaps even the most arbitrary magistrate may dread to punish me for an act of justice. But if I am condemned to die, I shall embrace my fate, and look down with pity and contempt upon the authors of this law, and upon the gaping multitude, convinced that many a better man has suffered in a worse cause.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE said the petition of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin ought to be treated with as much respect as the orders of parliament warranted. He thought that would be done by ordering it to remain on the table for the perusal of the members. It would be against the rules and practice of parliament to allow counsel to be heard in support of this petition: It had two objects, one the supposed invasion of the franchises of the corporation of Dublin, the other comprehended some general topics, such as political freedom, the power of government, and the charge on the public. As to the first, the fact was mistaken; the franchises of the corporation would by this bill be extended, and in no respect diminished; but if the facts were true, that a corporation was intitled to be heard by their counsel, but not the freemen, part of a corporation is not entitled to be heard by counsel. As to general corporate rights, where their own immediate privileges were not concerned, the body at large, or the govern-

ing powers in that body, were the proper persons to judge whether the rights of the corporation should be discussed by counsel. If the freemen had no right to do this, freeholders certainly had not. As to the other object of the petition, he said, the principle on which counsel was allowed was, that the petitioners had a private property, or particular interest in the matter in question; but when the questions were of a public nature, in which every man was equally concerned, if one man was entitled to be heard by his counsel, every man was equally entitled; and therefore, and because in those cases the members of the House were the proper advocates for the purpose, no counsel was to be allowed.— He insisted that it would be irregular to admit petitioners to be heard by their counsel in this case, and that there was no precedent to warrant it.

The question was then put that the order of the day, for going into a committee on the police bill, be now read, and the House divided,

Ayes, — 125 Noes, — 46

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said, administration being strong in numbers, prevented in some sort the freedom of debate; that by the motion of going immediately into a committee, he was prevented from following the plan of the minister in England, who agreed to lessen the influence of the crown. Here, said he, you want to exercise it to such a degree, as to annihilate the freedom of election; do you mean to transform freemen into slaves? He then read a motion he intended to have made, if the order of the day had not been called for. The motion was, that no person holding an office under that act, should be capable of sitting in parliament.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that as there were some very good clauses in the police bill, and some about which there was great difference of opinion, he recommended it to the patrons of that bill, to intimate to the House that the bill should be only for three years, to try its merit. That there was the more reason for making it temporary, because there was a clause in it which continued for seven years three very important laws now near expiring; and that he was persuaded such an intimation would tend much to lessen the opposition to the bill in the committee.

Mr. HARTLEY, in order to prevent the going into the order of the day, moved the question of adjournment.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON seconded the motion, and said that as the evening was now far advanced, he hoped they would not sit to profane the sabbath with debating on a bill to take away the liberty of the subject, but that the regard to decency and religion which the Speaker had manifested by establishing daily prayers in that House,

would have some effect upon gentlemen that were so earnest to enter on a bill which, if even unopposed, must take up considerable time, and which, as many of the clauses would be combated, could not by possibility be gone through before Sunday was far advanced.

Mr. STEWART (of Donegal) said he was for the adjournment, and for hearing the petitioners by their counsel.

Mr. CALDWELL said he should move several amendments to the bill.

Mr. GEORGE PONSONBY observed that on the report any clauses that gentlemen might have to offer might be received.

Mr. STEWART (of Tyrone) said he hoped the House would not refuse listening to the petitions of the people—it would be establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional precedent.

Mr. CORRY said he was one of those desirous of seeing a system of police for the city formed, being convinced, like every other man, of the negligence and inefficacy of the board of aldermen, and how inadequate they had shewn themselves to the duties of their office; but the manner of the present business, or the description of the present bill, he could by no means approve of; the precipitating of its progress, and the time of its introduction, when the opposition members were out of town, and their numbers remaining were so thin. [Here a loud laugh.] Mr. Corry having stopped, said, in his opinion, that laugh was neither civil or very proper—the ministry may endeavour to parry a serious consideration by ridicule of members, for the same reason they may defend bad measures by laughing at the constitution; it was the tone of argument used that night; the first law officer, to defend his bill, had begun by ridiculing the rights of the subject, and laughing down the constitution. No matter who were the persons who voted the petition presented from the citizens, or what was their rank; liberty like justice knew no distinction of persons, and the poorest subject of the land could teach the first law officer of the crown that his rights were as sacred as those of the right honourable gentleman, and that it was the duty of that right honourable gentleman not to laugh at, but to defend those rights. The freemen had grounds that justified their using the right of petitioning; by their charter they had the privilege of being governed by magistrates of their own choice, not those of the nomination of the minister, and therefore, in his opinion, their petition ought to be treated with respect, and their complaints heard by the counsel. The right honourable gentleman had said that the corporation had not petitioned. He had stated also many differences between the bill for Westminster and that for Dublin. One difference he had carefully omitted to state, the commissioners were to be chosen

not out of the corporation in London, and the corporation there petitions; the commissioners here are to be chosen amongst the corporation in Dublin, and the corporation here does not petition. Will that suffice as a reply to the right honourable gentleman's argument against the present petition, and the want of one from the corporation; nor is it wonderful if the aldermen should be ashamed to petition, for how do they stand before the House? As culprits—culprits accused and proved from the shewing of the two right honourable crown officers by the very bill they drew; for if the aldermen are not culprits, then are the two right honourable gentlemen wanton invaders of the city's rights and of the charters of the metropolis—Which of the two do they chuse to acknowledge?—An honourable member, [Alderman Warren] one of that body, had stated that a post assembly of the city might have been called, and a petition made. Whatever may be the kindness and propriety of the imputation upon his brotherhood, certainly it must come with great weight from one of their own body, and the corporation may deserve it perhaps from the honourable member's hands, but, Sir,—

Mr. DALY interrupted Mr. Corry, and said he begged leave to call the honourable gentleman to order—He saw that his warmth was likely to lead him probably too far.

Mr. CORRY said he did not feel that he was out of order, but if friendship had induced the right honourable gentleman to stand between the alderman and what might be expected would be said, he felt a satisfaction in having been stopped from proceeding; if he had the power to say any thing poignant he would rather restrain from it when called to recollection; he would therefore quit the board of aldermen and the honourable member, and return his thanks to the right honourable gentleman for having called him back. He then said that whatever might be the inattention of the ministry to the opinions of the people, and in exact opposition on this occasion to the conduct of the ministry of England, he deprecated their involving the parliament in that description. The opinion of the people respecting the wisdom and caution of the parliament, was the best means to wean them from the idea and practice of taking upon themselves the defence of their own rights, and lulling them into quiet. That parliament should attract the love, confidence, and respect of the people, was the sure and the only means to establish the good order, harmony, and peace of the country, for which reason he wished to proceed with caution and deliberation.

Alderman WARREN.—There is one clause in the bill which I am as determined to oppose as any gentleman in this House, let him talk never so much, I mean the clause which admits the county magistrates into the city. I will oppose it because it in-

singes that charter which it is my duty and my inclination to maintain. As to my right honourable friend stopping that gentleman, when he was running on so very improperly, I am obliged to him for his good intention; but there was no occasion for his interference to defend me against that gentleman. I am able to defend myself against him here or any where else. That gentleman has taken some very indecent liberties with the board of aldermen, but I desire for the future he will be silent on that subject, at least in my presence.

Mr. CORRY said he was sorry he had touched the feelings of the honourable alderman. He was going on when the chair interposed.

The question of adjournment was then put, when there appeared

Ayes - - 44

Noes - - 130

At half past eight o'clock the House resolved itself into a committee on the police bill, Mr. Coppinger in the chair.

Mr. CALDWELL proposed an amendment, that persons appointed commissioners under this act should, if returned members of parliament, cease to act any longer as commissioners, and resign their employments.

This was opposed by the Attorney General, and the amendment was negatived.

The clause was then read for empowering the Lord Lieutenant to appoint the commissioners, and that the commissioners only shall sit.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I rise to amend that paragraph—my amendment is “sit by rotation.” My objection to the original clause is, that the appointment, with certain endowments, is to be in the minister; that my amendment will give a complete police I do not say, but it will give a police, and it will be a distinct police from patronage. Hereafter you may, in the course of the next session, consult the citizens, and form an effectual bill for the city, not for the minister.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—It must be allowed that the appointment of all magistrates, and of all dignities and honours, flow from the crown, therefore there can be no infringement on the charter of the city of Dublin for the Lord Lieutenant to have the appointment of the commissioners. It would be nugatory to have the aldermen sit in rotation, as you can never have a police except magistrates are appointed for that purpose only, and such as will be properly rewarded, so as to cause them to devote their whole time to that department. In support of this argument he stated that the justices of Westminster were paid by government to protect the po-

lice of Westminster, and there would be no possibility of living in London if it was not for such regulation.—He declared he would on every occasion object that aldermen sit in rotation, who were not desirous of doing their duty; on this principle he could not acquiesce in such a mode, as of course it must come to the turn of Alderman Greene to sit, who had on a former occasion shewn himself exceedingly averse to exert his authority for the preservation of the public peace; in support of this declaration he appealed to the journals of the House, and read from thence some resolutions of parliament censuring that magistrate.—After he had read the resolutions alluded to, he said he would be very sorry to see him sitting in rotation, as he was sure from the specimen of the alderman's conduct, he would be a very improper person; but while he felt himself obliged to condemn Mr. Greene's conduct, he was free to own that he never saw the power of a chief magistrate so properly exerted, in his memory, as during the mayoralty of Alderman Warren, the present honourable member for the city.—Now, Sir, said he, I must advert to this army which has been mentioned, this unconstitutional army. This army, so inimical to the liberties of the people, is to consist of no more than forty constables, and a number of men equal to the present watch of the city of Dublin, which I trust will prove sufficient, since I recollect that it has been stated in this House, at a former period, that the watch of Dublin was sufficient to conquer America; and though I have not altogether so formidable an opinion of them, yet I trust the present force will answer the intended purpose. He concluded with declaring, that when gentlemen came to consider this military power seriously, it would be impossible it could ever be turned to any bad purposes.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL.—I did hope the right honourable member [Mr. Grattan] was prepared with some argument, but in my humble opinion he is not. The scope of his speech seems to be the extent of the jurisdiction of the crown. Here the Solicitor entered into a discussion of the prerogative of the crown, and opposed the arguments which fell from the right honourable member. He alluded to the case of Reilly, on which he expatiated; where he remarked the constitution exercised a proper and requisite power, and he thought it right that magistrates should be under the immediate authority of the crown, as, if they were, it would be infinitely better for the police of the city; and he doubted not but the experience of a future period would support this assertion. He was of opinion that those who have not done their duty as good magistrates, ought not to be included in the present arrangement. He did not think it reasonable that every man, no matter how undeserving, should be included in the arrangement in agitation; from such men

he thought every mark of honour should be withheld.—He took occasion here to remark that there is a particular power to be delegated to the commissioners, &c. to enable them to have offenders pursued all over the kingdom that should transgress the laws. If, says he, there are not gentlemen set apart for this business, the police must remain in the same wretched situation it is, for there are four and twenty aldermen in the city, of course it must come in turn for them to preside once in every twelve days; How then is it possible that any regulated system can be preserved? Besides, concluded he, if one or two magistrates were ill disposed, they may disclose the secrets of the others, and totally destroy the intent of the establishment.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I know very well that by the constitution the king appoints magistrates, so does he grant charters, and yet neither charters or magistrates are liable to be cancelled or deprived by him.—And this independency has proved in many cases of the last good consequence. Now this bill brings chartered magistrates to that very dependency—dependency for salary, which is the dependency in the execution of their office.—The controul of the crown is another word for the controul of the minister. The honourable member tells us that the sheriffs may be suspended who are not chartered; but he says also that it is a good abstract proposition that magistrates should be removeable by the crown.—That doctrine would go to destroy all chartered magistrates, and indeed it goes against charters themselves.—It would render the execution of the law in every place or city whatsoever dependent on the will of the crown; that is, on the minister. Do you imagine the magistracy of this city would derive respect from a dependency on the pleasure of that right honourable gentleman who sits on the floor? It is objected that rotation magistrates must be paid as well as those commissioners; but here is the difference—they would be paid for labour, and not at pleasure—they would be paid, not influenced. It is further objected that some of them may be exceptionable; and Mr. Greene, the late lord mayor, has been mentioned, and a resolution against him read; but that argument would prove too much, if it proves any thing, for it would prove that he ought not to be a magistrate at all; and that a man who comes under the displeasure of this House should be no longer an alderman. When you condemn rotation magistrates, will you answer for your own ministerial magistrates? Or will you say that these ministerial magistrates under this bill will be better acquainted with the business of the city? They are to be confined, says an honourable member, to their district; they are to make their duty their daily labour, and to be entirely employed in taking up thieves; and yet it is urged that they ought also to be members of this House, and employed in doing the business of the nation. They also, it is said, are to be under the controul and scourge of the King's Bench

in the execution of their executive office as magistrates, and may be responsible to the people in the higher situation as members of parliament. In this confusion of responsibility and diversity of occupation, I do not discover an attention either to the dignity of parliament or the peace of the city.

The numbers of horse and foot under the command of the commissioners are to be 40 men, which proves the bill to be a bill of patronage; and the commissioners who are to command this body, and the magistrates, and the whole establishment are to be appointed by the minister. An honourable member gives this reason—they ought to be men in whom the crown may place a confidence; that is, the magistrates of the city of Dublin ought to be men in whom the Secretary shall place a confidence—a confidence that they will act for him in a political as well as magisterial capacity—will be his friends in all corporate meetings, and support him with their votes and influence in the capital.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said he was amazed to see the gentleman play upon words in the manner he did; his arguments had been mistaken by the right honourable gentleman, who tortured his positions into a meaning that they did not deserve, and drew conclusions from them favourable to the arguments he wished to support. He said he did not much trouble himself with the business of parliament; his avocations, and indeed his constitution more particularly, prevented it; but when called on in a professional line, he was willing to give his aid to parliament.—I am conscious, said he, I have acquitted myself to the best of my abilities, and am as tenacious of the constitutional rights of my country as any right honourable gentleman. I have done every thing for the better; and if I have not been successful, I am confident I have intended well. It is true I am a servant of the crown, but I believe I am as independent in fortune as the right honourable gentleman; and therefore while I am so, I do not hold myself under any unjust influence.—I will support the propriety of my conduct on this bill, and am ready to meet the right honourable gentleman; on this ground I set him at naught.—He said that convinced of the goodness of his cause, neither the right honourable gentleman's great abilities nor his perseverance should intimidate him. Every person in the House was convinced of the necessity of a police bill; that he knew the law of the land, and the prerogative of the crown; that the right honourable gentleman had broached new doctrines, and delivered new law, the like of which, except from the same right honourable gentleman a night or two before, he had never heard.

Mr. GRATTAN.—The speech of the honourable member is singular and unprovoked. He intimates that I do not understand our laws, but let me tell that lawyer that I understand the laws of my

country enough to defend the rights of my fellow citizens against him or any crown lawyer of them all; and let me tell him there is a vast difference between the knowledge of the practice of the courts, and a knowledge of the constitution. The lawyers of the crown are not, on constitutional subjects, the highest authority. Mr. Noy, the law-officer of Charles the First, framed and supported the writ of ship-money, and was an excellent crown-lawyer. The twelve judges of England declared ship-money to be legal—all excellent crown-lawyers. Never was an arbitrary doctrine advanced in England that had not the support of an excellent crown lawyer; it is therefore the rights of men, and the charters of freemen, are not to be left at the mercy of crown-lawyers. The member says that he understands the prerogative better than I do; he does indeed; he understands too much of it—he has given a sad proof of the extent of his labours, zeal and devotion on that subject; his mind seems entirely occupied with the prerogative of the crown, and not with the privileges of the people. He says I have stated new law; but I will prove that he has done so [taking up the police bill.] If this is old law, what does it here? Why is it introduced? And if it be new law, it is new law with a vengeance. Here is his new law, not in argument only, but in a bill which is to be an act of parliament; a new law which invades the charter of Dublin, and makes the warrant of a county justice current in Dublin—a new law which breaks open your house for a ruffian, and deprives you of your right of action as for trespass against any of the parties concerned—a law which is introduced to create a new unconstitutional influence of the minister in the city, and to bring that corporation under his scourge. It seems that I have supposed that the members of this House are not subject to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench—No, but I would not have the members of this House accept of a situation, in the discharge of which they must, it is argued, be under the controul and the eye of the King's Bench—handled by the King's Bench. The member says he is as independent in fortune and principles as I am. I will add that he is as able and eminent in his profession as any man in Great Britain or Ireland, there is no man more so; personal as he thinks he has been, I shall not stoop to do him injustice; I allow all his merits, but has he not been a little too irritable, too inflammable? The member, it seems, is not accustomed to parliamentary controversy, and the attack on his argument, or his measure, throws him into a strange state of unnecessary irritation. I am amazed his profession has not taught him better; as an advocate he must have been accustomed to hard language; or are they so delicate, so decorous, or so respectful to one another's arguments in the Four-courts, that when the practitioner is controverted in parliament, he is all alive; a lawyer all over sensibility.—The mem-

ber should know that in fair debate the words, the obvious meaning, and the natural conclusion of men will be stated and pressed; not only the words of a crown lawyer, but the doctrine his words import; this the member, learned and respectable as he certainly is, must hear with patience, and should bear with temper.

Mr. ORDE said every thing that had been advanced shewed the necessity of going into a committee on the bill; for it was not to be expected that the corporation of the city could possibly understand what so many gentlemen of great ability in that House seemed so utterly to have mistaken.

He said most special care had been taken to preserve inviolate the rights of the citizens and the magistrates. Nay, so sacred had their charter been held, that notwithstanding it was necessary to give to some of the magistrates powers much more extensive than they derived from their charter, the remaining magistrates were left in full possession of every power they before enjoyed.

The bill, said he, appoints commissioners—their business is to be distinct from all other justices—they are to watch over the execution of this act—they are not to be compelled to act as justices, though they may act if they think proper. But this more immediate office will be to prevent offences, and to bring offenders before the justices of the wards.

The district of the metropolis is to be divided into four wards, in each of which one or more justices is to be constantly resident. It has been observed that under the bill county magistrates may be brought to act within the city. It must be remembered that a large portion of the space within the circular-road is in the county, and as the city magistrates are to be enabled to exercise the powers which this bill conveys in so great a part of the county, there can be no good objection against a very few of the county magistrates acting within the city; and it must be also remembered, that if this should be deemed improper, the commissioners, who are city magistrates, are to divide the wards at their own discretion; and may divide them so as to give the county only to the county magistrates. But notwithstanding, as there might arise some inconvenience from this mode of dividing the city, and as I understand an honourable alderman, and the gentlemen who prepared the bill, have some objection to admitting the county magistrates within the city, I will not oppose any alteration of the bill which may tend to take away that objection, and confine them to the county only. The admitting them would totally obviate the argument, that the crown wished to extend its influence in the city.

The right honourable member who objected to the armed patrolage which this bill is to give * bad citizens—bad soldiers—an army in disguise—too strong for the constitution—too weak for

* Mr. Grattan's words in a former debate.

the enemy—an army of officers—will no doubt be surprized to find this formidable army dwindled down to forty petty constables. —The object of government has been to avoid expence, at the same time that they wish to preserve the public peace, by strengthening the civil power; and all that we have heard of a very great military establishment to overawe the liberty of the subject, has originated from mistake, or some worse cause. The civil power only is to be extended; every one will allow that it ought to be put upon a different footing from what it has been heretofore. The commissioners are to superintend the watch—a smaller number of better men than those now employed will prove more effectual. The forty petty constables may command the watch; some of them are to act on foot, some on horseback, as necessity may require; ten of whom are to be appointed to each division; the number is as small as possibly can be, considering they are to do duty day and night, relieving each other.

It was also thought that the pay of this armed patronage would be extremely burdensome to the nation; but it will be seen that it is exactly the reverse. At present there are twenty peace officers at 20*l.* each; they were established during the riots; they are now to be reduced, and the forty petty constables are to have 30*l.* salary each. There are to be four constables at 60*l.* each, and an high constable over all at 100*l.* his duty will be to communicate immediately with the commissioners, to convey their orders, and in some cases to see that they are executed. The House are now possessed of the expences of the military part of the establishment, and I trust they will not think it enormous; as to the watch, their number is to be reduced and limited, by which gentlemen will see there is no intention to raise an indefinite army, as has been said; indeed the funds of the watch give a sufficient security against that. As to the civil expence, as it has been called, I shall now state that the first commissioner is to have 500*l.* a year, and each of the other commissioners 300*l.*—This I believe no one will think too much, as they must be respectable magistrates, who are to devote their whole time and labour incessantly in the public service. There must be also a secretary at 200*l.* a year, two clerks, one at 70*l.* the other at 50*l.* a year. There must be also a treasurer to make up and receive the assessments, and to pay all expences. No fees for their own emolument are to be taken by any person acting under this bill; but all fees usually received are still to be continued, and brought to account by the different magistrates, who are to hand them over to the treasurer, in aid of the funds of the watch; in the same manner also all fines levied under this bill are to be applied. Besides the expences that I have stated, there is an allowance to the office i. each ward of 100*l.* for clerks; the commissioners are also to be empowered to offer rewards to a certain amount for the apprehending offenders. This I hope will every

day diminish, as there is reason to hope by the institution offences will become less frequent.

Mr. GRATTAN.—The right honourable member professes to state the expence of the establishment of this armed patronage in one speech, and has stated the whole of that expence in another, and his last statement is threefold the amount of the first. He was called upon to set forth the expence of the commissioners, and their establishment; which at first he omitted, and when the great object of his bill, and the grievance of the great expence made its appearance, it came out by way of postscript.—The gentleman enjoys the talent of not being more intelligible than the occasion requires; he enjoys the talent of embassadorial phraseology, an admirable qualification for a minister; and particularly for a lord lieutenant's secretary; however, reluctantly, the secret has come out, and this bill is a measure of patronage only; the expence of the establishment in their commissioners, their magistrates, secretaries, treasurers, high constables, &c. &c. &c. is out of all proportion greater than the expence of their establishment for the men; the expence for influence is thus out of all proportion greater than the expence for force, and therefore the bill could in strict propriety be entitled a bill to establish, not the peace of the city; but the peace of the minister in the city, at a great expence.

Mr. ORDE rose to explain some words which he said were not fully understood, respecting the statement he had made.

Mr. GRATTAN.—What the right honourable member means, I may not know; but I know what he says. He need not have given himself the trouble to rise up in his own justification. I cast no imputation upon him; I observed on the happy power he had of stating and not stating just as much as he chose—an artifice admirable in a secretary.—There are two modes of deception; one is to deceive directly, and the other to suffer men to deceive themselves. I do allow that in this case the success had not been long; the whole must have been discovered in the course of the debate; but I could not avoid observing on the member's ingenuity, and paid a compliment on his capacity.

Mr. HARDY.—The right honourable gentleman has now stated what will be the probable expence of this very good institution, a police board. At this time of night it would not be peculiarly agreeable to the committee to follow him through the variety of his statements and calculations. He says the expence, considering its object, is very moderate, and cannot with any propriety be excepted against. If a good and permanent police in the city of Dublin could really be effected by this bill, the right honourable gentleman is perfectly right in his assertion; but that it will at all meet the wishes of those who are truly anxious for the attain-

ment of such a desirable object, I very much doubt. That like all other institutions it will, on its first appearance, and for some time after, perhaps, endeavour to recommend itself by extraordinary attention, vigour, and dispatch, is very possible; but it is really curious to listen to all this anxiety which administration professes for the preservation of the peace of the metropolis—an anxiety which no one ever heard of till this session, and which no one would in all probability hear of now, were it not for the system which seems lately to be adopted, of securing the city, or at least several of its magistrates, in the interest of administration. This bill is proposed as an auxiliary to carry on that system, and a very potent formidable auxiliary I dare say it will be.—As to the principal argument on which this bill is founded, on which, in fact, it entirely rests, what is it? The distracted state of the city two years ago; for as to any recent anarchy or disorder which would seem to call for an immediate adoption of some police bill or other, nothing of the sort has been suggested. Now as to those tumults and riots which are long since vanished, let it be remembered that they arose merely from a peculiar coincidence of circumstances which are not likely to take place soon again, and they certainly owed their continuance to the culpable supineness and inertness of the magistracy of Dublin. With regard then to the first part of the proposition, I shall only observe that to make laws on account of any accidental or temporary grievance, however peculiar to the councils of this country, is what no well-regulated state ever did yet.—*Corruptissimâ republicâ plurimæ leges.* Two or three years ago the press happened to be turbulent and licentious; then we were honoured with a press bill. Now comes a police bill; and thus every session new modes of coercion arise; nothing temperate, nothing conciliating; the exigence and pressure of the moment, not the disposition of the people, or the genius of the constitution, are alone consulted; the immediate and violent effects of turbulence and disorder are checked, but the cause and origin of the evil is not removed, nor perhaps even thought of. With respect to the indolence of the magistrates, to which all parties seem to attribute the continuance of those riots, observe the language which this bill holds to those gentlemen:—"Be as indolent, as inactive as you please—be as indifferent to the duties of your station as you think proper—suffer the metropolis during a whole summer to be disgraced by every outrage and irregularity that can disgrace it, so much the better for yourselves;—the non-performance of your duties shall do more for you than the most strenuous activity could possibly effect:—If some generals have conquered kingdoms in their sleep, you shall conquer the city, you shall gain places by your repose—Pursue, therefore, this course of productive inactivity, and to your fellow-citizens formi-

dable inertness; The more extended your slumbers are, the more extended shall be our police bill; for without those slumbers, without this supineness, no police bill could ever have existed." But not to pursue this any further, I shall content myself with observing that this bill involves many considerations. How far it may be right and necessary in consequence of former disorders, and the inertness of former magistrates to put down the ancient magistracy of the city, which in fact this bill does, and set up a new one, appointed and paid by the crown, I submit to gentlemen's serious reflection; how far also it may be a preliminary and leading step to a general police, ought much to be attended to. My honourable friend [Mr. Forbes] has justly told you that this bill is only a transcript of one which was offered to the city of London, and immediately spurned at there. That the city of London, which suffered more than perhaps any metropolis ever did by riots, should immediately reject, and that the city of Dublin should be obliged to adopt, no matter how precipitately, such a bill as this, is really a whimsical circumstance; and nothing can mark more strongly the difference of sentiment which the government of these countries entertains with regard to those two cities. But the bill is in fact a bill of patronage, and the title should be, not a bill for the preservation of the peace, but a bill for the preservation of court influence in the board of aldermen.

Sir NICHOLAS LAWLESS said that he congratulated the House and the city on the very probable prospect of a good and effectual police; and, as appeared from the statement of expence just given by the right honourable gentleman on the floor, on much lower terms than had been expected. That a police equal to preserving the lives and properties of the citizens was the wish of every good subject and honest man: however he had feared it would be a work of great difficulty to bring forward such a measure without incurring too great an expence, and perhaps infringing on the charter of the city; but now he had the satisfaction to find both these objections done away in the bill under consideration, as it appeared to him that the expence would be little more than was paid for the support of the present very ineffectual watch, and that care was taken of the rights of the corporation, by chusing the principal officers of the intended regulation from among the magistrates of the city; for these reasons the bill should have his support.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL rose in vindication of the Secretary; and remarked on the right honourable gentleman's [Mr. Grattan] agility in shifting his ground; one time he took a gentleman's intentions, and another time his words.—He, however, begged of his right honourable friend, for whom he professed the highest respect, love and regard, not to persist in giving trifling and unnecessary delays—delays that were beneath his respectable character.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I am sorry to trouble you again, and to have given other gentlemen an opportunity of troubling you, with as little reason or necessity. I said nothing against the secretary, to require all this interposition. The right honourable member who spoke last in his defence, and the right honourable member who spoke some time before, by their situation defend the lord lieutenant's secretary. It is not a necessary but official vindication, on which I shall only observe that I have not stated any thing not warranted by what was said, and if a man's words are ambiguous or unintelligible, it is fair to conjecture what he means; if that is expressed as to delay, I give none but that decent delay which is necessary for deliberation.

The bill was gone through, save only two or three clauses, with some amendments, and the chairman reported progress, and got leave to sit again on Monday.

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1786.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved for leave to bring in a bill for encouraging and rendering effectual inland navigations in this kingdom, and for dissolving the corporation of commissioners for promoting and carrying on inland navigations.

Colonel ROSS moved that it be an instruction to the committee on said bill, to insert a clause or clauses for managing, superintending and governing the navigation from Lough Neagh to the sea, commonly called the Newry navigation.

Mr. DENNIS BROWNE opposed the motion, as militating against the resolution of the House in May last; and as the commissioners of imprest accounts had not made any report pursuant thereto.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said the bill was for the purpose the honourable gentleman desired, for it was framed on that resolution and others.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a short time after presented it to the House, and it was received and read a first time.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declared himself against the clause, and that he would oppose it in the committee.

Mr. STEWART (of Killymoon) also opposed the clause. He said he had last year brought in a petition from a great number of respectable gentlemen against a bill of a similar nature, that five counties bordering on Lough Neagh were to be affected, and therefore he would be against the motion.

The House divided, when there were for receiving the clause

Ayes - - 46

Noes - - 57

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM, after prefacing the respectability of the county of Dublin meeting, moved that the petition of the freeholders be received.

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, signed by the sheriff of the said county, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners, deeply interested in the welfare of this county, the metropolis thereof, and the kingdom of Ireland at large, and anxiously solicitous for the honour and dignity of parliament, have, with the most sincere concern, observed a bill, entitled "a bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin," involving the chartered rights of the ancient and respectable corporation of the city of Dublin, the liberties, properties and domestic enjoyments of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, precipitating through the House of Commons, at a time when a considerable number of members were unavoidably engaged in the business of their assizes, and therefore could not have had an opportunity of being consulted upon a subject of such magnitude; that the petitioners conceive that a certain class of men, who from their character and conduct have never been considered as objects of responsibility, under the absolute controul of certain commissioners nominated by the minister with powers arbitrary and despotic, may, to gratify their own licentious dispositions, force themselves into the peaceful retreats of our families, and, under the pretence of protecting us from the depredations of others, commit the most indecent and cruel irregularities; that the debtor, to whom the law has afforded in his house a sanctuary, cannot be secure; and the infirm and invalid, let their situation be ever so deplorable, cannot be at rest; our wives, children and friends will find their domestic enjoyments cease, and the ultimate wish of life, retirement, done away; that the petitioners are of opinion that the powers granted by the bill to the commissioners, of raising bodies of armed men, although limited in number, together with that of levying money to support the same, are dangerous expedients, and directly militate against the principles of the constitution; that the petitioners perceive with sorrow a certain and numerous body of their fellow subjects obliged to submit to an ignominious distinction and marked

suspicion, by a partial registry of their names, occupations and abodes, which regulation, from any matter that has been set forth in the bill, or we can devise, we cannot but consider as oppressive and unnecessary; that the petitioners consider the clause which includes that part of the county of Dublin within the Circular-road in the district of the metropolis, as highly oppressive upon the inhabitants of the county of Dublin residing therein; as it subjects them to a two-fold taxation; and therefore praying to be heard by themselves or their counsel at the bar of the House against the said bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said that the petition was an insult to parliament, and moved that it be rejected.

Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM said that the meeting at Kilmainham was composed of men of the first rank and consequence in the county—men of integrity, honour and virtue; that they were interested in the good order and police of the county; that it was not their intention or meaning to insult parliament; their only wish was to lay their grievance before the House; that the rejection of the petitions of the people was become the fashion; that it was his duty to present and support whatever petition his constituents directed him; that in such a situation he would divide the House, though he was single. He said that he had another county petition to present, but found by the reception of the first that it would be in vain.

The House divided on the motion for rejecting the petition; when there were for the motion,

Ayes - - - 118

Against it Sir Edward Newenham and Mr. Sharman, who were the tellers.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—I hope this may be a warning to persons who may hereafter petition this House. In the present case, being convinced that the improper expressions arose from ignorance only, I have refrained from moving any censure, but I shall not be quite so gentle if the offence be repeated.

A petition of the freeholders of the county of Antrim, whose names are thereunto subscribed, convened by the high-sheriff at the Court-house in Antrim, on Thursday the 12th day of January, 1786, for the declaring of their opinion of the bill lately introduced into the House, under the title of “a bill for effectuating the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both kingdoms,” was presented to the House and read, setting forth that after the most mature consideration the petitioners find that the said bill contains, with very little alteration, the whole

Substance of the twenty propositions of the British parliament, and, if passed into a law, would be ruinous to the manufactures and commerce, destructive of the liberties, and subversive of the constitution of this country; the petitioners further beg leave most humbly to represent to the House, that it is the unalienable and fundamental right of the people of Ireland to be free from the authority of any legislature whatever, save only the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; that any covenant, statute or agreement, containing in any shape or form whatever an agreement that the parliament of Ireland shall from time to time enact in this country laws which shall be passed in another, is inconsistent with the said fundamental right, would render the parliament of this realm, for so much, the register of another legislature only, would in substance revive and introduce, by means of our own parliament, the dominion of another, and would overturn the constitution of this realm; that a free trade is an unalienable and fundamental right of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, and that any covenant to surrender the same, or any part thereof, is inconsistent with the said fundamental and unalienable right; that any covenant to alienate for ever the revenues of this land, more especially under the colour of payment for enjoying our natural rights and equality, is disgraceful and inconsistent with the limited power of the octennial trust, that a perpetual revenue bill, or any covenant or agreement to renew the same from time to time, is dangerous, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the limited nature of an octennial trust; and the petitioners humbly represent that any infringement of these principles must be an infringement of the constitution of this kingdom, as a free, sovereign and independent state; that the said bill is in direct opposition to each and every of those principles; and therefore the petitioners most humbly, but most earnestly supplicate the House that said bill may never be suffered to be again brought forward; and not only so, but that no other bill, however modified, which shall infringe in any degree on any of the said principles, may ever be suffered to pass into a law.

Mr. MASON said this is a petition against a non-entity; there are no commercial propositions in existence, except the eleven which stand upon the journals, and were passed with two dissenting votes only. These are not the propositions the freeholders of Antrim mean, therefore their petition is nugatory.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL observed that the people of the county of Antrim were happy in having a very good printing press and type in their Court-house; for there he supposed the petitions were framed: And he observed there were about fifty of them all alike, and stitched together. He thought it also a great happiness to that county that all its freeholders wrote an excellent hand, and so exactly alike, that in five hundred names no man could distinguish a difference in the writing.

Sir **BOYLE ROCHE** moved that the committee, to whom the police bill was referred, should be empowered to receive a clause to repeal so much of an act made in the 33d year of his late Majesty George II. intitled an act for the better regulating the corporation of the city of Dublin, and other purposes mentioned therein, as relates to the election of lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen and common-councilmen.

He said without such a clause the police bill would prove ineffectual—The act of George II. by letting improper persons into the magistracy of the city, induced the necessity of the police bill, and now the police bill induced the necessity of repealing so much of that act as related to the election mentioned; for as the police bill (which now excludes county magistrates from acting in the city) would require a succession of fit and proper men at the board of aldermen, from amongst whom to chuse commissioners and justices of wards, it was necessary to restore the city to the privilege it enjoyed by its charter before the law just mentioned, in order that its magistrates might become as respectable as formerly they had been.

Before the act of 33d George II. said he, there was not a more respectable corporation existing than that of the city of Dublin—men of the first rank and consequence in the city were proud to be enrolled amongst the aldermen; but since the people of the common order have been introduced, that respect has been much diminished. Gentlemen, he observed, had talked much of the chartered rights of the city, but the first and greatest inroad that ever had been made upon its charter, was by the law which he now desired to repeal.

Mr. **HARTLEY** said he was sure the honourable gentleman was too wise to think of clogging the police bill with such a clause, and too candid to bring forward so suddenly a matter of so much importance, now at the close of the session.

The **ATTORNEY GENERAL**.—I am a friend to chartered rights, and if this was thought a convenient season to adopt the very proper clause proposed, in so doing I should think I restored the city's charter, which the law of George the Second has most violently infringed.

Mr. **BROWNLOW** said he hoped there was no intention of throwing any reflection on the board of aldermen—it would be ungrateful for gentlemen, consonant to whose wishes that board was always ready to act.

Sir **BOYLE ROCHE**.—I have no intention of reflecting on the aldermen; I move this clause with the very best intention—with a wish to do them honour, to restore their charter, and to provide a succession of worthy men, proper to carry into effect the provisions of the police bill.

Mr. BERESFORD.—Both in this and the last session I have been charged with infringing the city's charter, but I am preserving it by agreeing to the clause ; for I know until that is done we never will have the magistracy upon the respectable footing they formerly were. Every man sees that feasting, faction, and riot, are the roads to city favour ; to be the most turbulent man in the society is the certain method to succeed. Whether this be the proper time to introduce the clause proposed I am not very certain, but this I know that the city will never be happy until it is restored to its charter.

Mr. GRIFFITH declared himself against the motion, for it contradicted the principle of the police bill ; that bill gave power to the magistrates, and this clause declared they were not magistrates properly appointed to act as such ; and it went to alter the constitution of the city, which he was against.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he could not consent to admit the clause, as it involved a subject of more importance and difficulty than gentlemen seemed to be aware of. From his long standing in that House he knew more of the subject than most other gentlemen. He remembered the year 1759, in which the law was enacted : Before that time the city was governed according to what were called the new rules, which admitted of very great abuse, and subjected the city to a great variety of frauds : One of them he would state :—The lord mayor and aldermen, whenever the different guilds neglected to make their return of common-councilmen in due time, had a power to elect themselves. This occasioned perpetual caballing and intrigues between the board and the masters of corporations, that the latter might lapse their time, whereby the board might acquire opportunities of electing.

Sir Edward King was the person who introduced the law of the 33d of George II.—It had the approbation of the then recorder, [Grattan] and of himself, [the Secretary of State] besides all the first and most able members of that House. Perhaps in their zeal to reform the abuses of those days they had gone too far ; experience had shewn they had ; but a complete system for regulating the corporation of Dublin was a matter of no small nicety, and should not be undertaken without much deliberation.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE, at the request of the Attorney General and Secretary of State, withdrew the motion.

The House went into a committee on the police bill, Mr. Copping in the chair.

Mr. HERCULES LANGFORD ROWLEY expressed his disapprobation of the bill.

After going through the remainder of the bill, and a short conversation on the clause for holding the commission of oyer and terminer, as to the place where to be held, and that two of the judges ought to preside,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, as some of the clauses were misunderstood and had given the alarm, he would, on the report, move to strike out the clause for searching for vagabonds, &c. empowering the magistrates to break open the doors of houses, &c. as they had the power already by law; and also to leave the party free to bring an action for trespass as at this present time.

The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. Thomas M'Donnell, the proprietor of the Hibernian Journal, was called to the bar and examined, relative to a misrepresentation of the speech of the Attorney General in his paper.

He assured the House that the error arose from his having copied that speech from another newspaper; that he had the most profound respect for the House, and every member of it; and nothing could make his mind more unhappy than having thus inadvertently given even the appearance of offence.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he had every reason to believe the sincerity of the printer's declaration; he therefore requested he might be dismissed without reproof. He was dismissed accordingly.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE proposed that two men of ability should be employed to take down short notes of the debate, one on each side. He observed when the speeches were published correctly, as sometimes they were, they gave much satisfaction and information to the constituent body; and when men were acting well, as the representatives of the people of Ireland were, he could see no cause why they should not make it known to their constituents.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he cared not what was published as his speech, how much nonsense was put in his mouth, provided he was not made to utter libels on men; it had never been his disposition to utter libels, and that was the only species of speech which he would object against having attributed to him.

Mr. CONOLLY said he wished the House would come to an understanding, whether the debates were to be published or not. In the public papers gentlemen were only considered as to the sides of the House on which they sat; in some papers gentlemen on the side of government were made to speak with the utmost eloquence and force of argument, while gentlemen in opposition were either neglected or represented as talking nonsense; in other papers the government side was made ridiculous, while opposition was exalted

to the skies. He thought this a great injury to the nation, as it distracted the public opinion, and rendered it impossible for the people to form a just idea of their representatives. For his own part he was conscious he was not a good speaker, but he always spoke the dictates of his heart, and with the best intention, yet he had been as much misrepresented as other gentlemen; he therefore wished the House would come to some decision on the subject.

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 1786.

The order of the day was called for, that the report on the police bill be received.

Mr. HARTLEY said though he acknowledged many and great amendments had been made in the bill, yet still, in his opinion, it was objectionable; as certain of the magistrates were by it far advanced in consequence and authority above the rest, which to men heretofore their equals was a most degrading circumstance.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, after the very great care that had been taken not to infringe upon the charter of the city of Dublin, he was amazed to hear what the honourable gentleman advanced, which was founded in mere error. There was no magistrate raised above the rest by this bill, neither was the power and privilege of any magistrate abridged; in point of rank and authority they all remain exactly as before, with this only difference, that the magistrates specially appointed and paid under the act must perform their duty, or incur the censure of the King's Bench; the other magistrates may perform it if they will, but from their supineness heretofore, there was little hope of such exertion. As to the degradation of which the honourable gentleman spoke, the board themselves did not consider the bill as degrading them; in truth it was not, on the contrary it tended much to add to their respectability. One word he desired to add; it had been supposed by some that the aldermen of wards, or commissioners, might at quarter sessions, &c. &c. sit as judges on appeals from former decisions of their own. No lawyer could entertain such a thought for a moment, for if a magistrate was to act so wickedly, the court of King's Bench would most infallibly attach him, as it had done the mayor of Hereford for a similar crime.

Mr. GRATTAN said he rose to give his negative to reading the order of the day. He knew the bill had been much altered, and that the very exceptionable parts had been left out, but still he thought the bill inadmissible; what had been said did not, in his mind, fall with its usual weight; he thought the jurisdiction of the other magistrates done away by the appointment of commisi-

oners and magistrates of wards. Because, said he, this act directs that offenders be carried before the sitting magistrates. No man had less objection to the board of aldermen; but he thought if they had petitioned they would have done themselves more honour; it would have shewn they possessed more virtue than perhaps an higher assembly, and he would have been happy to applaud such a proof of their virtue. Much reliance had been had upon the smallness of the force to be employed under the bill, and gentlemen had plumed themselves on the circumstance that it could not be dreaded as an army—he admitted it could not, but the influence which the bill gave was to be dreaded—it now appeared the object was not force but influence.

The necessity of the bill, he observed, was founded on riots which happened two years ago, and which, in truth, were very disgraceful; but he feared the new appointment would rather lessen the authority of the law, and increase a spirit of turbulence. It would rather tend to establish venality amongst the ministers of justice, and excite sedition amongst the people.

He objected finally—because ministers having now got one branch of the corporation into their hands, might in a future session enable that branch to elect the other; because it would give great influence at elections; and because it might create a watch, for the sake of influence, bad watchmen, and bad voters.

He then moved the order be adjourned to the second of August.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE.—When I consider this bill as it was originally brought in, with the several amendments made to it in the committee, and those now offered by the right honourable member in further amendment, I cannot avoid expressing some surprise that it should still remain the object of opposition to my right honourable friend, whose integrity and ability are so justly and universally acknowledged. I am convinced the several gentlemen who opposed the bill in this House, opposed it on the purest principles, because they considered it exceptionable. But when I consider what I have read for some time past in the public newspapers, which are daily pouring forth the bitter streams of discontent amongst the people, by whose waters they have often sat down and wept, when they had no cause of sorrow; I say, when I consider these newspapers, when I consider the petition that is on your table, and the petition that is under your table *, I cannot have a doubt on my mind, but there are many whose opposition has originated in other principles. Some oppose it because they consider public tumult connected with public liberty; others want to make a little tumultuary sport out; perhaps to run down admi-

* *Petition of the county of Dublin rejected, as disrespectful and indecent.*

nistratation through it. Indeed those nimrods in politics—those hunters of grievances—those sportsmen in the fields of public discontent, have of late been rather unsuccessful in their search for sport. They have scarcely been able this session to start any thing that has maintained a good chase; and I think the present administration will not bring into parliament any bill for the better preservation of the game. However the spirit of pursuit must be kept alive—it must be employed—it must traverse every range of government—

“ That wild where weeds and flowers promiscuous shoot,

“ Or garden tempting with forbidden fruit.”

And for that purpose, and in order to keep themselves in exercise, they have thought proper to draw the police bill—with what success the wisdom of the House and the justice of the nation will determine. I lament that charges so enormous (although utterly unfounded) against this bill, should have been circulated by the newspapers through the kingdom—that it subverts public liberty; that our protection is to be effected by the subversion of our rights as freemen, and by the infraction of our charters; and that it gives a dangerous armed influence to the crown. What, Sir, does a bill, acting by the ancient and known laws of the land, without the snare of any new punishment, without the hazards of any mode of trial? Does such a bill, operating by such means, to punish or prevent murder, robbery, tumult and disorder, imply any thing like a subversion of civil liberty? Those who entertain such an opinion, one should imagine, consider all these crimes as involved in their notions of civil liberty. As to influence of the crown, it certainly does restore an authority to the crown which the constitution conferred, but which outrage had sometimes taken away. It enables the crown to give every man in the community, what every man in the community has a right to demand of the crown—the protection of the laws.—Of the twenty-seven magistrates elected by the people in the city of Dublin, the crown may appoint (without interfering with, or abridging any article of the authority of the other twenty) seven, who are especially to devote their whole time to this important business. It is to be their sole occupation, and to enable them to make it their sole occupation, they must be paid for it; it cannot be otherwise. I know the poet says, “ he that is called to serve his country, if he deserved that noble trust, is paid by serving well.”—Why that is a very fine sentiment; but the man who would form a system of government on that idea would not be a wise man.

In all situations, from the highest to the lowest, men who dedicate their time to the public must be paid by the public. Suppose the appointment of the lord lieutenant to run thus:—We grant to our truly and well beloved cousin and counsellor, that he withdraw himself from his own estate, and superintendence of his own

affairs; that he assume the government of Ireland; that he shall live there with all the magnificence suitable to his station, and the generosity conformable to his nature, and that he shall defray all the costs and charges—out of his own estate; or if that be not sufficient, he may sell a competent part for that purpose.”—Though I am confident such appointment would not vacate the office as to the present possessor, yet I beg you will consider what chance would be of a successor to his Grace?—Suppose the great lawyers whom I see about me, who acquire by their professions three or four thousand pounds a year, were by royal favour to be advanced to the bench, and to reward their labours, and indemnify their losses, they should have and enjoy the consciousness of judging uprightly, and nothing more, would that be likely to fill the bench with the ablest men at the bar?—And so of a city magistrate!—Can you say to him, “Mr. Alderman, give up your profession, or your business, neglect your wife and children, give up your whole time to the public, and you shall receive, in return, the thanks of your fellow citizens, which you shall hold by that solid tenure, the stability and constancy of popular favour?”—But the appointment of the salaries will give influence to the crown!—Why not? The king is the head and the fountain of all executive power, every branch of it is derived from him, and responsible to the community. The constitution has always considered the executive officers ministerial to the crown—it is unnecessary to state the difference in the case of the judicial officers—they ought to be altogether independent of the crown, as the constructing a law may be carried to altering or suspending the law. He said he would shew the great improbability that this bill would ever in future bring in one member of parliament; the favour of the crown will not recommend them to popular election, and if there is any other sort of elections, their small appointments would not enable them to procure admittance there. As to the armed force which was to overawe the nation, why it had dwindled down to forty constables, bound by the laws to execute the laws—not the offspring of a mutiny bill, bound to implicit obedience, but enjoined to obey the magistrates in all lawful commands. He observed that the act of 1778 enabled the magistrates to raise not only an unlimited number of officers and constables, with all the powers of this bill to seize and search, and to break open houses too, and to be clothed and armed, but also gave them a legislative power to make such further rules, orders, &c. &c. concerning peace and police, as they think proper. In that case, said he, numbers unlimited, and powers undefined, gave no alarm; now your liberties are to be destroyed by forty constables! You might as well tell the people their liberties were in danger from the lord lieutenant’s livery servants—I believe they are as numerous, and I am sure they are better paid.

Some gentlemen the other night, with an ardour that I respect, because it is the ardour of freedom, exclaimed, "that their house is their castle."—True! but it is a castle that's open to the law, and not a fortress against it. It never was considered an asylum for its violators. Our constitution knows of no such sanctuary. Here an offender cannot find protection even in the temple of his own castle, or at the altar of his household gods. Such has always been the law of the land.

He recited some part of the ancient charter of Dublin, and shewed the changes and additions to the magistracy of Dublin that were made by succeeding monarchs, and in a series of laws which he quoted. That though the question of chartered rights was now removed from this bill, yet no corporation could suppose, if the public peace could not be preserved by the powers granted by charter, that the parliament would not confer others more adequate. No! that would be to suppose charters were exemptions from protections, and men were incorporated in order to be plundered.

He said though he was sure the members of the House, who persevered in their opposition, continued to oppose because they continued to disapprove, yet he was sure there were out of the House those who opposed not the measure but the mover. It originated with government. That there were many who consider not whither the wind goeth, but whence it cometh; and some who would not admit the sun to be bright, if it did not shine in that part of the heavens to which they had been accustomed to pay their adorations.

He concluded, that as every thing on which even a doubt could be fastened had been removed; that as the bill was necessary to peace and inoffensive to liberty, it should have his support.

Mr. CONOLLY.—As a political sportsman—

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said he hoped that no expressions which might have dropped from him would give the right honourable gentleman room to think he alluded to him.

Mr. CONOLLY continued—As a political sportsman my conduct has been uniform. I pursued the political chase, but never for myself—always for the good of the public; nor have I ever made game of my country.—Had the volunteers in arms attempted to overturn our liberties, I would have opposed them; and should a minister attempt to subvert them, should he even glance at it, I should, to the last moment of my existence, oppose him. But perhaps the honourable baronet thinks I have been a kind of rash, careless sportsman—Indeed I have been so, and have hazarded my life in the service, and ever will to the utmost of my poor ability pursue my country's good. But the right honourable baronet was lately sent out as a huntsman to run down a wild beast; his chase was

long, and it was said successful; he got possession of the wild beast; but what did he do? Why, as sportsmen treat a vixen, he thought proper to save it, in order that it might produce more wild beasts, and afterwards let it go. For my part I shall always follow the same game, and will join in any chase but that of running down my country.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said that the right honourable gentleman was misinformed; he had run down the wild beast, and sold his skin for 5600*l.* which was at present in his Majesty's treasury.

Mr. HARTLEY offered some further strictures on the bill, when it was agreed to read the bill a third time.

Proceeded in reading the bill; on coming to the clause respecting the commissioners granting warrants for breaking open doors.

Mr. GRIFFITH desired to be informed, whether the commissioners themselves might not break open a door, although they could not grant a warrant for the purpose.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that they could not.

Mr. GRIFFITH said that he approved of two bridewells, instead of four, and wished the plan of Mr. Howard, for the regulation of Gloster bridewell, might be adopted, which was in itself the most perfect code possible for such regulation, and said that Mr. Howard intended to be in Ireland in May next.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL informed him that the sole regulation rested with the commissioners, who were obliged by the bill to visit not only the bridewells, but also the other prisons in their district.

He asserted that there was no alteration of the law whatever by the clause for empowering the constables to break open doors.

Mr. TOLER stated a case from Hale, which, he said, positively corroborated his position.

Mr. GRATTAN.—I have no inclination to go into a law controversy upon the subject, but will maintain the contrary of what the honourable gentleman has asserted. He has given a quotation from Hale, as argument, but if he had taken the trouble to read a little more of Hale, he would have found that his quotation argued nothing; for but a few pages before that to which the honourable gentleman has alluded, Hale asserts a doctrine diametrically opposite, and hence the glorious uncertainty of the law.

Mr. TOLER replied.

Mr. GRATTAN answered, that the honourable gentleman might be assured he would not advance a thing which he could not

justify : Hale, in the place he had alluded to, said that they might enter and not be liable to action of trespass; and in the other, he as positively says that they could not.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1786.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he rose to call the attention of the House to a matter of much importance. It was well known to many gentlemen then present, the oppressions under which the protestant clergy in the south of this kingdom laboured, though in general men of the utmost liberality and humanity, and far from incurring by any act the just displeasure of the meanest individual. He would not presume to say that what he had to propose would prove an effectual remedy; but it would have this good consequence—it would shew the insurgents that parliament was determined to support the established clergy. In the bill he intended to propose, he did not mean to take any notice of that important, but most delicate and complicated subject, tythes. He confessed it had long occupied his thoughts; but as he found the most able and best informed persons differing widely in their opinion on it, he would not attempt upon the sudden to bring forward so great a question. His motion was for leave to introduce “a bill to protect the persons, houses, and properties of rectors, vicars, and curates, actually resident within their parishes.”

Mr. ROWLEY proposed to amend the resolution, by adding after the word curate, the words, and all other persons.

The SECRETARY OF STATE.—If almost any other gentleman but my right honourable friend had made this proposal, on a motion for leave to bring in a bill, I should think it was done ludicrously; but he, I am sure, has no such meaning; and I will tell him that no men want protection more than the clergy: They are generally sent strangers into the country, unsupported by family, by connections, by tenants, where, through an unhappy combination of circumstances, almost every landholder is interested against them, and nothing but the authority of the laws can protect them. Of late, Sir, the most barbarous outrages have been committed against the protestant clergy. Men of the purest morals, and most inoffensive manners, have had their houses broken open in the dead time of night—their wives and children driven naked into the open air—their selves have been carried and thrown on dunghills, and hardly suffered to escape with life.—This as to the persons of clergymen. Then as to the protestant religion itself; I know many instances in which affronts of the most atrocious kind have been offered to it. Let me mention one:—A clergyman

of excellent character being for the safety of his person obliged to fly from his parish, prevailed upon another, who was thought less obnoxious to the insurgents, to officiate in his stead. What did they do? In the middle of divine service a number of ruffians, armed with bludgeons, rushed into the church, where they continued to march about in a most riotous manner, until they had thrown the minister and congregation into the greatest terror; and while the most solemn rite of our religion, the sacrament of the lord's supper, was administering, a number of wicked people climbed up the church window, and in the grossest manner insulted the persons engaged in the performance of such a serious duty.

Leave was given to introduce the bill.

Mr. STEWART requested to know from the honourable gentleman [Mr. Annesley] who had declared an intention of making a motion relative to the Newry navigation, what that motion was?

Mr. ANNESLEY said he would answer the question with the same candour he hoped to receive from the honourable gentleman.

His intention was to insert a clause in the bill for promoting inland navigation, for appointing a corporation, or board of trustees, to superintend the Newry canal. He understood that it was the intention to abolish the board of inland navigation, and to carry on hereafter all canals by companies of private persons, who should be willing to undertake the same. But he begged leave to say that the Newry canal differed from every other canal in the kingdom; inasmuch as it was compleated, and as its tolls, though exceedingly light, were sufficient to keep it in repair; but in order to the due collection and faithful application of those tolls, it was necessary there should be persons of character and honour appointed, who should feel themselves interested in the propriety of the work. Now as the canal passes only through the counties of Down and Armagh, it is intended that the trustees shall be chosen from these two counties. The gentlemen of the county of Tyrone have a canal of their own near the collieries, but that is totally distinct of the Newry canal; therefore it would be highly improper that the tolls of the Newry canal should be expended upon that in the county of Tyrone. The navigation board formerly granted large sums of money to the Tyrone canal, and even now there is a sum of money in hand for carrying it on.

He then moved that the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration a bill for encouraging and rendering effectual inland navigations in this kingdom, and for dissolving the corporation of commissioners for promoting and carrying on inland navigations, be empowered to receive a clause or clauses for appointing a corporation to manage, direct,

improve, repair and govern the navigation from the navigable part of the river called the Upper Bann or Fathom-point, below Newry, and to vest sufficient powers and authorities in the said corporation for managing and carrying on the same.

Mr. STEWART said before he would state his reasons for opposing the honourable gentleman's motion, he would take off one objection that he had raised against allowing the gentlemen of Tyrone, and the two other counties bordering Lough-Neagh, any share in the management of the Newry canal, for he would agree that it would be unreasonable to apply the tolls of the Newry canal to any other object but that canal itself; and he was ready to admit a clause in the bill, to prevent for ever the alienation of the revenue arising from the Newry canal to any other object. He then proceeded to state that the gentlemen, proprietors of ground, and the inhabitants of the country bordering Lough-Neagh, that is part of Tyrone, of Antrim, and of Londonderry, were as much interested in the welfare of the Newry canal as the persons living on its banks, and should therefore have representatives at the board of trustees. The collieries of Tyrone had long been a great object of parliament, and indeed the prime cause for opening the Newry canal; it was therefore fit it should also be attended to. The merchants of Newry were deeply interested; they ought to have a share in the management. Upon the whole he thought it quite unreasonable to confine the management of a work in which the north was so much interested to a few gentlemen, taken from two particular counties.

Mr. MASON said it was not then the question who were to be the trustees, but whether there were to be any trustees at all. If the House should agree that there were to be trustees, the committee was the proper place to name them.

Mr. GARDINER said he would oppose Mr. Annesley's motion, as the drift and intent of it was to monopolize the management of the Newry canal into a few hands.

Sir RICHARD JOHNSON said his reason for opposing the idea of letting the gentlemen of the county of Tyrone have any hand in the management of the Newry canal was, that the canal in the county of Tyrone had been most shamefully mismanaged, a prodigious waste of public money had been made, for without completing any thing, the directors of the Tyrone canal had sunk more money in four years than the Newry canal would cost in forty. He thought it was but bad encouragement to gentlemen, who by great care and exertion had brought a work to perfection, to have others obtruded upon them, who, to speak in the mildest terms, had been extremely unsuccessful while pursuing a similar work. He allowed that one great object of parliament in promot-

ing the Newry canal was to obtain a supply of Irish coals from the county of Tyrone; but he lamented that parliament had been most miserably disappointed in that object, for instead of supplying Newry and other parts of Ireland with coals from Tyrone, Tyrone and the country bounding the canal had in a great measure been supplied with coals from England. He stated the quantity of English coals carried up the canal from the sea at about 4000 tons annually, and the quantity of Irish coals brought down from the county of Tyrone at about 100 tons. This he imputed to some radical defect in the system of working the Tyrone collieries and making the Tyrone canal; he therefore hoped the House would think it dangerous to commit a perfect work, the Newry canal, to a set of gentlemen who had suffered their own works to run to ruin.

Mr. CORRY said he had withdrawn, and had not voted on this question when last debated. He did not chuse then to interfere between two sets of gentlemen, who were contending for the management of the Newry navigation; but he must observe, that altogether to overlook the inhabitants of Newry, in a matter so nearly concerning the trade and the property of the town, as the canal, seemed somewhat extraordinary.—The honourable gentleman [Mr. Stewart] had said that he thought the inhabitants of Newry ought to be included in the management. He begged to know if the honourable gentleman [Mr. Annesley] had the same intention? If so, he would do to-night as he had done before, withdraw, and not vote on either side; but if one plan should include the inhabitants of Newry, and the other excludethem, he felt himself bound to support that which included them.

Mr. ANNESLEY said he meant to include the collector of the port, as well as the members, the lord of the manor, and the seneschal.

Mr. CORRY rose again and said the lord of the manor was not resident; that though he would willingly confide the management of the canal to the noble lord who had formerly moved upon this business, yet neither was that noble lord resident, and the management must therefore devolve on the other persons to be included: He said that though they might with safety commit it to the care of the present members for the boroughs of the counties of Down and Armagh, notwithstanding the Lagan navigation being much nearer to them, it might be more their interest that that should succeed before the Newry canal, yet he could not know who might succeed those members hereafter. The people of Newry would be good centinels to watch the state and safety of the canal, as their trade and property must immediately fall with it; they might do good, but could do no harm, and therefore he must vote with those

who were for including some of them in the care of the Newry navigation.

Colonel Ross said it had long been known to whose care the honourable gentleman [Mr. Annesley] intended to commit the management of the Newry Canal; they were all persons who felt themselves deeply interested in its prosperity; and notwithstanding what the last honourable gentleman [Mr. Corry] had said, it was evident that their successors, the inheritors of their estates, must feel the same. The very great property they would enjoy on the banks of the Newry canal, must ever prevent them from sacrificing its welfare to that of any other undertaking.

The House divided on Mr. Annesley's motion,

Ayes - - - 37

Noes - - - 71

Mr. STEWART then moved that the said committee be empowered to receive a clause to appoint his grace the lord primate, the governors or lieutenants and custodes rotulorum of the counties of Tyrone, Armagh, Down, Antrim and Londonderry, the knights of the shire for the said five counties, the two representatives in parliament for the borough of Newry, the seneschal of Newry for the time being, Isaac Corry, senior, George Glenny, William Glenny, William Beath, Samuel Hanna, John Ogle, together with the proprietors of the working collieries in the county of Tyrone, and the Lords of the several manors through which the following navigation runs, to be trustees for the direction of the navigation from the collieries in the county of Tyrone to the sea below Newry, direct the receipt and disbursement of the tolls and the necessary repairs thereof, and to appoint a treasurer, lock-keepers and other necessary officers, and to lay an annual account before this House of the receipt and expenditure of the said tolls.

Mr. MASON observed that a motion of similar import had just been negatived, and he called upon the consistency of the House to reject the one now offered.

Colonel Ross, in answer to Mr. Stewart, insisted on the unreasonableness of joining the management of the Drumglass and Newry canals. He foresaw much inconvenience to the latter from the mischievous mixture of management.

The question being put, that the House do agree in the said resolution, it was carried in the affirmative.

Sir RICHARD JOHNSON stated that one-third of the canal, which is thirteen miles in length, runs through his ground; several of the local commissioners were eminent bleachers, living on its banks, and much interested in its preservation, as by it they received their coals, dye-stuffs, and other materials. The merchants of Newry were also much interested, and as it seemed to be the

sense of the House to let in the Tyrone gentlemen, and gentlemen of the two other counties bordering on the Lough, he hoped they would not totally reject those more immediately concerned; he therefore moved, that after the words, proprietors of collieries now actually at work, the words, and the local commissioners, be added.

The amendment was rejected without a division.

The question was then put on Mr. Stewart's motion, and carried.

It was resolved that the House do forthwith resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the report from the committee on the petition of Robert Brooke, of the town of Prosperous, in the county of Kildare.

Then the House resolved itself into the said committee; and after some time spent therein the Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Mason reported from the committee that they had come to several resolutions in the matter to them referred, and that he was directed to report when the House will please to receive the same.

It was then ordered that the said report be now received.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee the resolutions which they had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follow :

1. Resolved, That it appears to this committee that Robert Brooke, of Prosperous, in March, 1784, acknowledged a recognizance to his Majesty in the sum of 50,000*l.* conditioned for payment of the Sum of 25,000*l.* on the 24th of June, 1794, with interest for the same, as therein mentioned; and also conditioned for keeping employed in the cotton manufacture at Prosperous, a certain number of manufacturers.

2. Resolved, That it appears to this committee that the said Robert Brooke acknowledged another recognizance to his Majesty in the sum of 7000*l.* conditioned for payment of the sum of 7000*l.* on the day therein mentioned.

3. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is essential to the preservation of the manufacture at Prosperous, and keeping in employment the persons who are settled there, that upon paying into the hands of the vice-treasurer of this kingdom, on or before the first day of January, 1787, the sum of 10,000*l.* part of the said sum of 25,000*l.* the said recognizance for 50,000*l.* shall stand and remain a security only for the payment of the further sum of 6000*l.* into the hands of the vice-treasurer on the 24th day of June, 1794, with interest for the same at the rate of 4*l.* per centum per annum from the 24th day of June, 1786, and for continuing

two thousand persons employed in the manufacture of cotton at Prosperous for the term of fourteen years.

4. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the said recognizance for 50,000*l.* so far as it shall relate to the securing the employment of the said persons at Prosperous, should be a lien on the lands of Curryhills in the town of Prosperous only.

5. Resolved, That it appears to this committee that the said Robert Brooke stands indebted to several private persons in several sums of money to a considerable amount, and that it will be advantageous to the said creditors that his estates should be vested in trustees, to be managed, sold or disposed of by them, in order to render the same as productive as possible.

6. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that from the time the said Robert Brooke shall have vested his estates, real, freehold and personal in trustees, for the purpose of raising the said sums of 10,000*l.* and 6000*l.* and interest as aforesaid, and for the purpose of satisfying the debts due to private creditors (provided two-thirds in value of the said creditors agree thereto) no creditor of the said Robert Brooke should have liberty to proceed at law or in equity for the recovery of his demand, nor shall the said Robert Brooke be subject to any of the laws relating to bankrupts; and from such time as aforesaid the said recognizance entered into by the said Robert Brooke for the sum of 7000*l.* should be void.

And, upon the question being thereupon severally put, the same were agreed to by the House.

It was ordered that leave be given to bring in a bill pursuant to the said resolutions; and that Mr. John Wolfe, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE then presented a bill for further promoting the purposes of an act, entitled an act for the issuing treasury bills to the amount therein mentioned, for the purpose of promoting manufactures, by providing for the settlement of a number of industrious manufacturers at Prosperous, in the county of Kildare; which was received and read the first time.

It was ordered that Mr. Robert Brooke do attend the House to-morrow.

THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1786.

The House sat in committee on the bill for registering freeholders.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON said he wished to introduce a clause for the exclusion of a certain description (whom he termed a set

of beggars) from the right of suffrage, such as persons receiving alms collected in churches, and diocesan schoolmasters receiving salary from the bishop.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD objected to a clause in the bill which obliged freeholders under 100*l.* per annum to register previous to the election. He thought it very hard that a man possessed of ninety-nine pounds nineteen shillings should be obliged to register, and the man possessed of one hundred pounds not; besides, a disclosure of a man's property was highly injurious in a commercial country, and it tended to create invidious distinctions amongst freeholders.

He avowed himself a friend to the principle of the bill, so far as it might tend to preserve the right of election, and of the real freeholders, free from abuse; but he thought it of infinite importance not to abridge or fetter the natural rights of a free people, and that gentlemen ought not, in order to answer the purpose of private convenience, to sacrifice the rights of the freeholders of Ireland; that for his part he never would endure the idea that frauds had been universal, for that he knew of none practised in a great and respectable county where he stood a long contested election of eleven days, and so glorious did he consider his defeat, and the honourable support of his friends, and the polite conduct of his opponents, that he would stand forth its advocate so long as he lived upon every occasion. He observed that, at all events, the clergy ought not to be obliged to register their benefices, nor ought any man whose property, from the nature and extent of it, was well known.

Read a third time and passed, an engrossed bill for regulating the tolls and customs, the weigh-masters and porters of the city of Dublin.

Mr. BERESFORD.—When leave was given to introduce this bill, I stated to the House that it was undertaken for the benefit of the farmers and others resorting to the Dublin market with goods liable to toll, and by the consent of the corporation of the city, to whom those tolls were payable. The tolls and customs of the city had, on an average taken of the four last years, produced to the city 405*l.* per annum; formerly they had been set considerably lower, but this was on an average of the four best years. To this sum of 405*l.* must also be added the expence of collecting, and some incidental expences, which might be estimated from 6 to 700*l.* a year. Now, as the corporation are to be put in full and quiet enjoyment of the tolls, regulated by act of parliament, I think it just that if they should produce a surplus beyond even the produce of the very highest years heretofore experienced, that surplus should not go into the coffers of the corporation, but be

applied to some useful purpose in the improvement of the city, as building a tholsel or mayoralty-house, to which end, with the consent of the corporation, I would insert a proviso in the act, that whenever the tolls shall exceed 500*l.* annually, the surplus shall, under the direction of parliament, be applied to the improvement of the city; and that it may be certain the collectors of the tolls do their duty with fidelity to the city, and without oppression or extortion to the country people, it will be necessary to appoint two inspectors on behalf of the public, whose duty it will be to pay the most watchful attention to the collectors: For this reason I have mentioned 500*l.* as the sum beyond which any surplus must be counted, as I intended the salaries of the inspectors to be 150*l.* each, which, with 4700*l.* first stated, make exactly 5000*l.*—Two gentlemen have been recommended to the office of inspectors; gentlemen, as I am informed, of the highest integrity and most irreproachable characters, and perfectly acquainted with the business, as they formerly farmed the tolls themselves—their names are Richard and Isaac Manders. As to myself I know nothing of those gentlemen but that from the characters given of them I am satisfied to have their names inserted in the bill as inspectors appointed by parliament on behalf of the public, and I have no doubt that the corporation of the city, and the public at large, will derive very great advantage and satisfaction from the present regulation.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he would support the plan of appointing inspectors, as well on behalf of the public as of the corporation. He took for granted that more proper persons than Messrs. Manders could not any where be found, as well on account of their knowledge in this particular business, as of their known integrity; and he thought the provision of 300*l.* or 150*l.* each, made in the bill of his right honourable friend, was a very small compensation for the trouble they must necessarily have in the faithful discharge of their duty.

The next order of the day was, “that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, on the bill to prevent the malicious destruction of bridges, mile-stones and finger-posts.”

The ATTORNEY GENERAL, with much humour, animadverted on the bill. It proposed, he said, heavy penalties on any person who should destroy or injure any bridge, mile-stone, or finger-post, but the method of enforcing its operation was truly whimsical. If any bridge within sight of a turnpike-gate should receive injury, by day or by night, the keeper of the gate was made answerable; and that he might not avoid so oppressive a circumstance by removal, it enacted, that hereafter, for ever, no turnpike-gate should be removed from its present situation. It also enacted, that whenever any mile-stone or finger-post should be thrown down or defaced, the landholder on whose land it had been

rected should be summoned by the next justice of peace, who, upon sight, was to fine the landholder one guinea, out of which the damage was to be repaired, and the overplus given to the poor of the parish.

The bill by permission of the House was withdrawn.

The SECRETARY OF STATE presented a bill for the protection of the persons, houses and properties of rectors, vicars and curates actually resident in their parishes; which was received and read the first time.

He requested that it might not be supposed that he meant to throw the smallest degree of odium on any body of men. The Roman Catholic clergy, he knew, had been treated with the utmost cruelty by the same insurgents and rioters that had insulted and injured many of the protestant clergy; and therefore in providing for the security of the clergy of the established church, he disclaimed every intention of offering offence to those of any other religion.

A message was received from the Lords, by two Masters in Chancery, that they had agreed to the paving bill with an alteration, by which "the clause empowering the commissioners of paving to commit to the house of correction, for a certain time, any person who shall refuse to give evidence before the said commissioners," is expunged—to which their lordships desire the concurrence of the Commons.

The messengers having withdrawn,

The SPEAKER rose.—He said, I believe the House will think I do my duty in rising to inform them, that in my opinion this bill cannot be admitted—I may be mistaken—but I think myself bound in every case where the privileges of this House are concerned, to state my opinion. I have ever understood that all grants of public money, of whatever description, tax, duty, or fine, belong solely and exclusively to this House. The bill now returned by the Lords, with an alteration, raises money upon the subject in a great variety of ways; and therefore I think, being altered, it is inadmissible—I may be wrong, but this being my opinion, it is my duty to state it to the House.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—After the high authority of the chair, I am sure no gentleman can have a doubt upon his mind; but even if it was a point of doubt, I should be for rejecting the bill, rather than run the smallest risque of erring by a contrary conduct. Every man knows that the weight, the influence, the consequence of this House, the security, the liberty and happiness of the subject, depend upon our having the exclusive disposal of the nation's money, and if we suffer our authority in this point to be diminished, we run the hazard of injuring every

thing that is dear to our constituents.—I will move you, Sir, that this bill be postponed to the first of July.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE followed the Attorney General, and spoke much to the same effect. He said, he was satisfied that the privileges of parliament were so safe in the hands of the right honourable gentleman who so worthily fills the chair, that a man might venture to vote with his opinion blindfold. Indeed, the House had seen many proofs of his great knowledge of parliamentary order, and regard for the constitution of his country, before he was exalted to his present high station. He said, he thought it right to say these few words, believing, in his conscience, the decision of the Speaker to be right.

The question being put, that the further consideration of the amendment be referred to the first of July, it passed in the affirmative unanimously.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said, after all that had been said and done with respect to that unfortunate lump of parchment (the rejected bill) it required some perseverance to step forward again; but with the permission of the House he would move leave to bring in the same bill, without the objectionable clause, and so altered in its title, as by so doing he should not transgress the rules of parliament.

He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the improvement of Dublin, and the environs thereof. Leave being given, he produced the bill, which was immediately read a first time, and ordered to receive a second reading to-morrow.

The Secretary of State presented a bill to regulate the presentments of grand juries for clerks of the crown and peace, sheriffs and gaolers, respecting the fees of such persons as shall be acquitted on their trials; which was received and read the first time.

He also presented a bill for rendering sub-constables more useful; which was received and read the first time.

The order for going into the bill for encouraging inland navigations was called for.

Mr. ORDE said, though an honourable gentleman had insinuated in a former debate, that sufficient notice had been given of the claims of the grand canal company, yet sufficient time certainly had not been given to consider those claims. Was he to decide upon such evidence as then appeared to him, it would be against the claims of the company, as they had given no proof of the expenditure of the money on which they claimed a proportionate aid, much less had they shewn that they had performed the other conditions of their engagement; he was therefore for postponing the bill for establishing a mode of encouraging inland navigations until next session of parliament. At the close of the last session,

engineers had been ordered to make surveys of the different lines for canals, also to deliver in plans and estimates : This they had found it impracticable to do in so short a time. In order to give them full scope, he thought the space between this and the next session would not be more than sufficient ; he was therefore for postponing the bill.

Mr. GRIFFITH said the claims of the company had been fairly and openly made in a full House ; they were not then objected to by the servants of the crown or any other persons, and he could not see why an objection should now be raised. He reminded the House, that the faith of parliament was solemnly pledged to the company to pay a certain sum, that is one-sixth of what the company should expend on their works ; and if parliament should now falter, they never would be able to induce private persons again to undertake a great national work upon their faith.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he acknowledged that nothing could be more fair and candid than the honourable gentleman's conduct as to the grand canal company's claims, but yet there was not sufficient grounds to proceed upon. There had been a positive agreement between the navigation board and the grand canal company, that the board should pay a certain proportion of the expence of making the canal, conditioned that the company should in a limited time, and for a limited sum, perform their work. It was necessary to see the deed of this contract. He had himself called upon the secretary, but could not get a sight of it, or even of the minute that he was well informed had been made of it when it was entered into. If then gentlemen, acting in a public capacity, could not be admitted even by private communication to a sight of the necessary documents, and if the plans and estimates ordered by the House were still unfinished, though they might acknowledge the company entitled to demand from parliament one-sixth part of their expence, yet they must think it highly improper to pay that one-sixth, until they were satisfied what that expence really was, and how it had been incurred ; he was therefore for postponing the bill ; but that no injury might accrue to the public or the company, he would to-morrow propose some resolutions, which, he trusted, would give satisfaction to all parties.

Mr. ORDE then moved, that the order be discharged ; which being carried in the affirmative, the bill was immediately withdrawn.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1786.

The bill for the protection of the persons, houses and properties of rectors, vicars and curates resident in their respective parishes, was read a second time.

When the question for its committal was put,

Lord LUTTRELL expressed a wish that the House should, while it thus protected the clergy, find a method to induce them to practice more moderation towards the people, on whom their extortions were so great, that he was credibly informed the enormous tythe of 28s. per acre was levied on potatoes in a part of the kingdom.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, (of Donegal) said he was of the same opinion, and that among other instances of oppression was that of summonses issued from consistorial courts, where after dragging men sometimes thirty miles, the court might think proper to adjourn, though if they had not attended they would have been subjected to very heavy penalties.

Mr. DENIS BROWNE said he could not agree to this, unless some provision was made therein to restrain the exactions of the clergy, which were so oppressive, that he doubted whether the white-boys themselves had done more harm.

Mr. BERESFORD said he was sorry to hear gentlemen express such sentiments: At such a time what they said might, and he feared would have the worst consequences.

He said there was not a word about tythes in the bill, therefore invectives against the clergy on that subject was unnecessary. He entered shortly into a vindication of the clergy, and conjured gentlemen not to throw out such expressions among the people as could not fail to encourage a spirit of riot; already but too visible among them; and concluded by requesting that the debate might be postponed until the father of the bill [the Secretary of State] should come to the House.

Lord LUTTRELL replied, that there being nothing mentioned about tythes was his principal objection. The outrages committed in the country I confess, said he, are shocking; but what is the remedy offered in this bill? The parishes where they are committed must find cheeks, ears and noses for those that have been cut off the clergymen, or their servants.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL followed Lord Luttrell in declaring his objection to the bill was, that it contained no regulation relative to tythes; but said he would go no further into the subject, as the right honourable gentleman who brought in the bill was not in the House.

The SECRETARY OF STATE now coming in,

Lord LUTTRELL repeated in substance what he had maintained before, and added, that the bill empowered the person aggrieved to bring his action by civil bill against any parishioner he pleased for his damages; and pray, said he, how are those damages to be ascertained? Is there a book of rates for noses or ears, or are they to demand an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth?

Mr. DENNIS BROWNE said that a right honourable friend of his had a picture which he would present the House, of the extortions of tythe farmers, that would awaken every man's feeling.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, (of Donegal) declared that the extortions of the clergy had driven one hundred thousand of the inhabitants of Ireland out of the kingdom.

Mr. BROWNLOW observed, that it was the duty of the House to defend the poor, who could not defend themselves from oppression, and that something should be done for them, as well as for the clergy.

Lord LUTTRELL said there was a law open to the clergy, as well as to the laity, for punishing any that might injure them, so that there was no occasion for a particular one like this, which, instead of a protection, was an oppression.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEIL requested gentlemen would consider that there were nine of the laity who suffered by the outrages for one of the clergy. He then entered minutely into the clauses of the bill, which he condemned as partial and unjust.

Mr. MASON moved, that the bill be committed for to-morrow.

Mr. GRIFFITH opposed the motion, as he said the members had not time to consider this bill, and that in his opinion the House should have first inquired into the cause of the evil before it attempted a remedy.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said that no man was more willing than he to enquire whence the evil arose, but that was no reason why the bill should not be committed.

The SECRETARY OF STATE defended the principles of his bill, which, he said, contained no innovation, as the act of the 15th and 16th of his present Majesty's reign gives a like authority with this bill. He said he had known many instances where clergymen of the most exemplary lives had been treated with the grossest barbarity—A Mr. Kenny, he instanced, who had been the father and physician of his neighbourhood, bestowing bounty and dispensing medicine to all who stood in need around him, yet

this pious, liberal and humane person was one who suffered under the rage of an insatuated set of rioters. He assured the House the insurgents only considered, whether the person to be attacked was a clergyman or not, and not whether he was a virtuous man or otherwise; he therefore besought gentlemen to give the bill a fair hearing, and to treat it seriously, that if they do no good, they may at least do no harm; for as the clergy of the established church were highly to be revered, a principal object in bringing in the bill was, to shew that parliament was determined to support them; therefore he again besought gentlemen to treat the subject with that candour and seriousness it so well deserved.

The question being put, the bill was committed for to-morrow.

The new paving bill was read a second time, and a motion was made that it be committed.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON desired to know whether it differed in any thing, and what, from the bill which had passed the House this session.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said he would most readily point out in what this bill differs from the other—First, it differs in title—Secondly, in having the clause omitted which was expunged by the Lords—And lastly, in having a proviso exempted, which in the former bill omitted a part of Harcourt-street from the several assessments for paving, lighting and cleansing. These, said he, are all the points in which it differs from the former bill.

The House resolved itself in a committee, Mr. Mason in the chair; and having gone through the bill, the Speaker again resumed the chair, when the House ordered the committee's report to be received to-morrow.

The bill respecting prisoners fees was read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

Sir EDWARD CROFTON moved, that it be an instruction to the above committee to receive a clause, leaving the fees of prisoners discretionary with the judge and jury.

Mr. DENNIS DALY presented a bill for vesting the House, commonly called the navigation house, in the city of Dublin, with all the furniture therein (not being private property) in his Majesty, his heirs and successors; which was received and read the first time.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1786.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the sum of 10,000*l.* had been raised in consequence of a vote of the House by the great money bill, and was intended to be applied to the

encouragement of the Donegal fishery; that a bill had passed that House, specifying its particular application, but as he was ignorant of the fate of the bill, he thought it his duty to bring in another again, to specify the purposes to which the money should be applied; it had been raised by the law of the land, and was a specific sum for a specific purpose. The bill which he meant to propose went merely to prevent the 10,000*l.* lying idle in the treasury.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said that the purport of the bill was exactly the same of that which had been rejected in another assembly, and he thought it strange that such a measure should be attempted after their disapprobation of it.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER called him to order, and said, the honourable baronet was totally out of order in mentioning the proceedings of another house of parliament. The money had been raised by the laws of the land in consequence of a vote of that House, and should not be suffered to lie idle.

Sir FRANCIS HUTCHINSON said he could not see where he was out of order. Either the money had been granted, or it had not; if it had been granted, there could be no occasion for the bill, by the introduction, which it was evident that it has not.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said it was necessary to express the application of the sum that had been voted, and when the honourable baronet, speaking of that application, mentioned the proceedings of another house of parliament, he was certainly out of order.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, (of Donegal) thought it necessary to say a few words on the subject. He was not at all interested in the business, as some people had imagined, though he had the honour of representing one of the counties which were its object. He could not help remarking that the conduct of the other House was rather strange in rejecting the bill, it being a money bill too; and at their endeavouring to throw cold water on a business of such national importance.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER then presented a bill for applying 10,000*l.* being part of 71,600*l.* granted this session of parliament for the advancement of fisheries, trade and manufactures.

He then said it was his intention to move that the House do resolve itself into a committee on the inland navigation, if there was no other business before the House.

Mr. CORRY observed, that though he had a motion to make, it was not his intention to trouble the House very long on the

subject at the present; he therefore hoped his right honourable friend would for a short time postpone his motion. It was three years, he said, since he had first moved on this subject, but was sorry to find the business since neglected and unrevived by any person in the confidence of administration. He was himself convinced, and so was every man conversant with business, that Ireland had a right to trade to the East Indies, without being restrained by those laws which were enacted in favour of an English company; he hoped no person would now be found to deny that right tho' it had been denied heretofore by gentlemen in that House. He said he had upon this subject, with much care and a good deal of labour, searched the statute book through, and he still remained of his first opinion as to the power of the Irish merchant to go to the East. The matter however yet remained to be shewn in its true light to the country and to the House; and its probable value duly estimated—For those purposes he intended to bring forward a motion to-day; one of such a nature as to be free from all objection, because it was free from all inconvenience; moderate in itself, and calculated to make information precede any decision that might be necessary.

Some honourable gentlemen had affected to ridicule the idea of a trade from Ireland to the East, as impracticable for want of capital, and as unprofitable and impolitic—the absurdity of such assertions was obvious to every man, and a complete answer to them all was contained in one word; namely, that he never dreamt of forcing Ireland to the trade if she did not like it; his intention being but to shew what it was, and that it was in her power if she did like it.

What a trade to the East is in a state of advancement the English East India company he said was sufficient to shew.—That company possessed a trade whose imports into Great Britain amount to above a million and a half, and whose exports from Great Britain amount to above a million sterling; a territory in extent greater than any country in Europe except Russia, and whose subjects are above 15,000,000 in number—that company whose revenue is three millions and a half—whose shipping is 100,000 tons, and whose receipts amount to sixteen per cent. on their capital, nine from trade and seven from territorial acquisition, as stated in 1781—He then proceeded to state the different commodities and various articles exported to India and imported from thence—The imports consisted principally, he said, of gold, diamonds, raw silk, drugs, pepper, arrack, porcelain, salt-petre, and tea for home consumption in Great Britain; and in wrought silks, unwrought silks, muslins, calicoes, cottons and other woven manufactures and piece goods, for re-exportation. The exports from Great Britain, he said, consisted of lead, hardware, quicksilver, silver bullion, copper, and woollen cloths. It

was true, he said, that the British East India company had the command of the trade of the territory they possessed in Bengal and in the peninsula of India, but the China trade was by no means under their power or controul, and that was not only a most important branch of their trade, but one of the most advantageous in the East. He then went into a statement of the China trade, supporting it by various facts, and arguing from the result of the commutation act in Great Britain: He shewed that the import of tea into Ireland was above a million and a half of pounds weight annually; that to supply her own consumption would employ, at the lowest computation, of her own shipping to the amount of fifty thousand tons, and would demand above two thousand seamen to be reared for their use; besides the vent of woollens and other articles of manufacture, he said that if the great splendour and riches of the British East India company were sufficient to rouse the ambition and fire the emulation of Ireland, she would find herself much encouraged in her efforts to pursue the example it gave in the very moderate beginning and small capital which marked its origin.—He shewed the origin of the companies of Holland, France, &c. to have been all moderate, and that they were established not from any necessity arising out of the trade for a company, but to check by authority the eagerness and competition of individuals, by whom the trade to the East was at its commencement carried on.—The capital of the British company, he said, was no more, at its establishment as a chartered company by Queen Elizabeth, than 77,000*l*.—(a sum equal to which was the other day subscribed by individuals in this kingdom for establishing a bank, whilst many were disappointed at not getting admission as subscribers); and for the adventures of which company at its commencement, the ships necessary were hired from the Hanse towns; the English having no ships of size sufficient for the undertaking.—Gentlemen would therefore no longer, he hoped, be guilty of the folly of laughing at an Eastern trade as impracticable for want of millions as a capital; if they did he would answer them further with the example of America at the present hour, from whence a trade was actually carried on with the East; and he would add that he had himself a knowledge of persons, respectable in character and integrity, with whom he had conferred, who were willing to undertake a China trade and bring the returns to Ireland.

Here he must acquaint the House that he did upon this subject apply at the Custom-house to know whether an entry outward to the Eastward would be received, and he was sorry to say that the answer given was not much calculated to encourage the trade of the country. It was said “that a reply would be given to that question when the entry should be offered.”—He said he would

forbear making any comments on the answer or the authors of it, in the present stage of the business.

One thing there was, he said, which stood in the way of this trade ; but it was within the power of the House ; and with them it remained to make such decision as might be thought fitting.—He then shewed the prohibition annually enacted in the revenue bill against teas from any place but Great Britain, pointed out the clause and the time of commencement of this clause, in the 5th and 6th of the present King.—To this in a particular manner, he wished to direct the attention of the House, and if he should succeed in his motion of the day, he felt a confidence in the wisdom of the House that such resolutions would be adopted as would best consult the interests of Ireland. He had but one word to add on the present moment—It might be asked why he had not brought forward this measure at an earlier period of the session ? He had, he said, forbore because he thought it might have been injurious to the interests of Ireland to push it too early on ; and because he knew it could not be injurious to the rights of Ireland to withhold it so long—injurious to her interests it might have proved, since in its extent it comprehends the consideration of prohibiting foreign fabrics in favour of home manufactures, as is the case in Great Britain ; which the insidious misconstruction of inimical ministers might have affected to see as an intended quarrel with Great Britain, or an indirect demand of reviving their inauspicious and defeated adjustments between the kingdoms—the first of which imputations he most decidedly disavowed, and the latter of which he as decidedly reprobated—both these imputations he was anxious to avoid giving ministry any grounds for, by giving them full time to declare their intentions in the course of the session on the general trade of the kingdom as well as on this particular trade—the delay, he said, could not at the same time be in any degree injurious, as the rights of Ireland want no establishment to-day ; there wants nothing but that the parliament of Ireland should revise the law of Ireland in respect of teas, and consider of the expediency of wearing foreign piece goods to the detriment of their own manufactures ; a compliment paid by Ireland, but which Great Britain refuses to pay to her own East India company.—After several accurate calculations in the course of his speech, and much distinct information appearing in every part of it, he moved, “ That it be an instruction to the grand committee for trade to sit on Monday next, to take into consideration the importation of East India commodities, and report their opinion thereupon.”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—The honourable gentleman having given the House a vast deal of information, and with his usual accuracy having shewed us what is to be expected from an East India trade, in my opinion, lays the best

ground and furnishes the best reason for not opening the committee of trade on Monday, when it is probable the House will adjourn on Tuesday.

As to the right of trading to the East, my honourable friend has proved that right by proving that we are not restrained by our own laws. But the policy of engaging in such a trade is the question; and I believe every one will be able to judge of that who reflects that we have no manufacture or material which would find a market in India, and that we must deal for ready money only. How destructive such a trade must prove may be judged by the infinite mischief which is done when East India ships arrive upon our coast, and smuggle the commodities of the East, which are all articles of luxury, into this country.

I see an honourable gentleman [Mr. Griffith] ready to rise to oppose my reasoning, but I think that honourable gentleman in his own person proves the advantage which this kingdom may receive from the English East India company, even by persons making large fortunes in their service.

The example of England, which undertook the East India trade upon a very small capital, I think a weak argument. England undertook that trade without a rival; we have the most powerful rival that ever existed in the mercantile world—we have a very small capital—we have no ships—and, as I before observed, no article fit for the trade, but if we trade at all with India, must trade to a certain loss. Indeed every company that has attempted it, except the British, has miscarried; therefore as to the policy of such an undertaking, I think it will not be very politic to undertake a distant unprofitable trade, when we are not able to embrace many very profitable branches of commerce almost at our doors.

Mr. GRIFFITH said that every thing which had fallen from the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, convinced him of the necessity there was for going into the enquiry proposed by the motion before the House. If a gentleman possessing the general information and abilities, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer certainly possessed, appeared to be completely ignorant of the nature and extent of the East India trade, it could not be expected that the House or the nation in general was sufficiently informed upon the subject; it was therefore expedient to enter upon an enquiry into a matter of such magnitude and importance to the interests of Ireland.

He said before he entered upon the discussion of this business, he begged leave to assure the House, that there was nothing farther from his thoughts than to propose any thing which could or ought to interrupt the friendship subsisting between Great Britain and Ireland; nor was it his intention to suggest any measure that would prove injurious to the East India Company, to whom he acknow-

ledged many obligations ; he should however have considered it as a base desertion of his duty to have suffered a subject of such importance, and upon which he ought to be well informed, to pass in silence. That as an independent representative of an independent people it was incumbent on him, and every other man in that House, to state and to support the interest of Ireland, without regard to any other consideration whatsoever.—He said he was happy to see in his place a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde] who had distinguished himself in the parliament of England upon the subject of East India affairs ; if, therefore, he should state any thing which was not founded in fact, or which was even doubtful in the opinion of that right honourable gentleman, he hoped he would correct him. His honourable friend who had introduced the business, had cleared the ground by proving that no power on earth, except our own legislature, had a right to prevent our trading to any part of the globe. Upon this part of the subject he should make but one short observation, that the monopoly of the British market, possessed by the East India Company, could not be pleaded in bar of our right to trade to the east, as the last charter granted to that company, by the parliament of England, had been made after the independence of Ireland had been declared ; and indeed this was tacitly acknowledged by the necessity there was of inserting an annual clause in the revenue bill, giving to the East India Company the monopoly of our market for tea. So far, therefore, he was glad to find that no negotiation was necessary to establish our right to trade to the east, and if the legislature of Ireland was inclined to maintain her independence with dignity, there was nothing wanting to the interests of this country which it was not in the power of parliament to bestow ;—*quod petis in te est*, should be written in characters of gold on the dome of that House.

He said that the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to doubt the advantage, and even the possibility of our carrying on a commerce with the east, as the East India Company would not let us trade to their ports ; and great stress had also been laid upon our want of capital. In order to combat these arguments, if the House would give him leave, he would in a very few words prove, first, that there was nothing in the power of the East India Company to grant, in point of trade, which could be worth the acceptance of Ireland ; and, next, that a trade to Canton, in China, which was a free port, might be carried on to immense advantage, and to great extent, with a proportionably small capital, or rather that it would supply a capital for itself ; and this was the only trade which he would advise the merchants of Ireland to think of.

With respect to a commerce with the settlements of the East India Company, it was a matter well known to those who were acquainted with the detail of this subject, that there was not a single

article of trade the product and manufacture of any part of Bengal, Malabar, or Coromandel, (saltpetre alone excepted) by which the East India Company did not lose from one to three, or three and a half per cent. and that a trade to these settlements was carried on for no other purpose than to serve as a medium to bring home the revenues of Bengal. The trade to China, however, stood upon different grounds, and if the House would consent to go into the enquiry, sufficient documents would be produced to manifest the advantages of that trade,

He said that what he had advanced upon these subjects would be brought home to the conviction of the House by stating a few facts. The French East India Company had failed twice, notwithstanding every assistance from the government of France; and why? Because they confined their commerce to the western parts of India, and had never traded with China, the principal products and manufactures of which country are not adapted to the consumption of France. Tea is almost unknown in France—silk is possessed in abundance—and China earthen-ware is there prohibited to be imported for the purpose of protecting their potteries.—The Swedes and Danes, on the contrary, carried on a very advantageous trade to the east, by wisely confining themselves to a direct commerce with the port of Canton, the profits of which were so great, and the returns so certain, that the Swedish and Danish agents could obtain any money which they wanted for their homeward-bound cargoes, by granting bills on Europe, which bills were in such good credit, that they were negociable on the exchange of London twelve months before they were due; and the fact is, said he, that the Swedes and Danes carry on their trade by means of a capital which is thus supplied to them by the East India Company's servants and other merchants in India, who have scarce any other means of remitting their fortunes; and considerable remittances are also made through the Swedes and Danes by captains of East India ships, who carry out large cargoes to Bengal and Madras, but who find it more to their advantage to send the money produced by those cargoes round to China, than to invest it in any of the products or manufactures of the East India Company's settlements.—From these premises three deductions might be fairly made: First, that Ireland wanted nothing from the East India Company. Secondly, that so far as the consumption of Ireland went in tea, earthenware, and silk, a trade to China would be greatly advantageous, inasmuch that it would give us those articles cheaper than we have them at present; that it would employ four or five ships of one thousand tons each; that the outfitting of those ships, the woollen cloths, copper and lead, which they would export from Ireland, would be of infinite advantage to our manufactures; and lastly, that the capital necessary for the carrying on of this commerce would be proportionably

small in comparison of the extent of the trade, as that capital would be greatly assisted by means of the remittances already mentioned.—And in respect to a capital for the out-fitting of this trade, he could take upon him to assure the House, that offers had been made to him by some very wealthy and considerable people in England, to enter into a direct trade between China and Ireland, whenever parliament should think proper to repeal the clause in the revenue bill, which prohibits the importation of tea into this country from every part of the world, except Great Britain.

He said that in the first discussion of a subject of such magnitude, it was impossible to go into a detail, but if the House suffered the enquiry to proceed, he did not doubt but that he should be able to manifest it to the understanding of every man, that great private profit, and considerable national benefit would accrue from a direct trade to China.—He repeated that he considered it as his duty to state the matter fairly to the House; at the same time he was of opinion a mode might be adopted in this business, which would secure to Ireland all the advantages she could propose to herself by a trade to China, without injuring the interests of the East India Company; that if he could propose such a plan, he did not doubt but it would meet with the approbation of that House; the present was not the proper stage of the business to propose it. He would however suggest to gentlemen an outline of the idea; it was, by an act prohibiting the importation into Ireland of any goods, the growth, product or manufacture of the East Indies or China, after the expiration of the year 1788, except in ships which had been freighted and fitted out from Ireland. If such an act were to pass the parliament of Ireland this session, a petition from the East India Company would be presented at the bar on the first day of the next session, praying to be allowed the exclusive privilege of carrying on the trade between Ireland and China on terms of the act, and perhaps offering a revenue to the crown for that privilege.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said he had professed his want of information on the subject then under debate, there was therefore no occasion for the honourable gentleman to upbraid him with ignorance. But if he was ignorant before, he was not suffered long to remain in that ignorance; a light had shined upon his darkness from the honourable gentleman, who had not put his candle under a bushel, but displayed its full lustre in proving the advantage and practicability of a measure, by shewing that it had constantly failed, and offering, as an inducement to undertake it, the history of all whom it had ruined.

The honourable gentleman, said he, has stated that the Danes and Swedes carry on a sort of clandestine trade, by which they get home tea for the purpose of smuggling into England. I own

if the commutation act did not stand as an insurmountable barrier, that this is a species of traffic I would be far from recommending to my countrymen; but the regulations of that act have for ever put an end to it.—I thought I could have stated to the honourable gentleman the several duties and drawbacks to which the East India commodities are liable; also the various acts of parliament for regulating the East India trade, and I even hoped to be able to deduce from these, and the history of the trade itself, some arguments to prove that we have more advantage in taking goods from the company, by which they lose, than we would have in trading ourselves; but as I find I am ignorant in these matters, and as it would be impossible for me to be prepared by Monday next, I must oppose the committee sitting, and endeavour to postpone the business till I get more information.

Mr. BERESFORD.—An honourable gentleman has stated, that two or three years ago, when this subject was agitated, the right of Ireland to trade to any part of the East Indies was denied.—I believe he alludes to what fell at that time from me.—He must do me the justice to confess that I never made such a speech. I knew that Ireland had restrained herself by her own laws, in certain instances; and I think what we have now heard has proved the good policy of those laws.

The honourable gentleman at that time stated that we had a right to receive the commodities of Asia through the medium of France, or any other foreign country, and to trade to China for tea; and that he hoped to see a ship fitted out for that commodity before the next session. I said I hoped he would not, as there were laws to prevent such a trade, which laws the honourable gentleman has now stated as to tea; and as to bringing the goods of Asia from foreign European states, I think the navigation laws stand in our way.—In short, I said we could not trade directly with the East Indies, because the property being in people who would not trade with us; it was impossible that we could trade directly with European nations in these goods, because that the navigation law prevented us; and that tea being the profitable trade to China we could not trade there for that commodity so long as our revenue laws prohibited the import from any place, Great Britain only excepted.

I have learned nothing upon the whole of what the honourable gentleman has with so much labour, and after such long preparation, laid before the House, but this—that we cannot trade with any advantage to the East Indies, or any of the eastern parts of Asia, except to China for tea.

If, therefore, the trade was free from every impediment of laws, I would not be an advocate for carrying it on; for the best reason that it is possible to alledge, because it is confessed, and is beyond a possibility of doubt, that it is a losing trade.

I agree then in this with an honourable gentleman who spoke last, that the trade carried on by the East India Company is a losing trade; and I have always understood that their reason for continuing to carry it on at a loss, as to the trade, is the opportunity it gives of investing the territorial revenues of the company in commodities of the east, and bringing them home to England. The territorial revenues of the company amount as I understand to 4,000,000*l.* yearly, which can be brought home perhaps in no other way; they may afford to lose by the trade if they save more by the exchange than they lose by the trade. But how are we to carry on such a trade? How are we to bear a loss of three one-half per cent. which is the loss the honourable gentleman has stated to be on the trade? We have no territorial revenues to bring home, neither have we any kind of goods to send out which would go to a proper market in the east.

It has been stated that the Swedes and the Danes carry on an advantageous trade to China for teas, almost without capital, by receiving the investments of the British company's servants in India, for which they give bills negociable on the exchange of London, the disposing of those investments in China, and taking teas from thence to Europe; and finally, the gentleman might have said, selling them to persons who smuggle them into England. This has already been fully answered by my right honourable friend near me, who has shewn that the only inducement these companies had for adopting that commerce was for the purpose of smuggling into Great Britain and Ireland. It was also stated, that Ireland imports a million and an half pounds weight of tea annually.

Without making any observation on the want of fidelity in the British company's servants, who are said to furnish these capitals to destroy the company's trade, to all this I answer—That supposing, what I never will admit, that any man amongst us could be so base as to desire to follow such a trade for the purpose of smuggling, yet by the wise regulations of the British commutation act that trade is now at an end, and the Danish and Swedish companies must sink. The reason of Ireland's importing so great a quantity as a million and an half pounds of tea, was that a great part thereof was smuggled back to England, where the duty was twenty-two one-half per cent. greater than here; but this temptation being now removed, I venture to predict that the quantity imported will diminish. The same cause which knocked up the Swedish and Danish companies will put an end to this excess of importation.

But it seems that the French East India Companies have been repeatedly reduced to bankruptcy, notwithstanding the utmost aid of the court of France; and therefore we are to embark in a trade without ships, without capital, without territory, without forts,

without harbours, which France has found it impossible to pursue with any advantage, notwithstanding she had all these advantages, and moreover such powerful aid—[*Spoke across the House, to any place but China.*] Well then to China. How are we to carry on this trade to China? What are the articles we are to send there? Upon what capital, or what means are we to contend against a company that trades upon a stock of many millions, who have all the goods and manufactures of the various countries of the East Indies to carry to China, to dispose of them to advantage and bring home tea? The East India company of Great Britain may afford to sell teas at a loss, because they have thereby an opportunity of bringing home the revenue of the East Indies; and if she can by so doing undersell every nation in Europe, what chance have we of contending successfully against her? Where are our territorial revenues, our settlements, our forts, or where should we be able to harbour in the east? Every nation in Europe has advantages over us; she undersells them all; how then are we able to contend with her?

It was urged as an argument in favour of our undertaking this trade, that the captains of the East India ships, who are allowed to bring home goods freight free, to a certain amount of tonnage, always chuse to relinquish this privilege and come home empty, because on East India goods they must trade to a loss, except when by touching at China, or any other means they can fill up their freightage with tea. Surely this is the most conclusive argument that possibly can be urged against our engaging in the East India trade; for if those gentlemen, exempted from the charge of freight, and enjoying the benefit and protection of the company's forts, establishments and influence, decline a trade which experience has shewn them to be injurious, (except as to China, from which the commutation act has taken the eventual advantage of smuggling, and in which Britain can evidently undersell us) it would be madness in us to undertake it without any advantage.—An honourable gentleman [Mr. Griffith] has proposed an arrangement, which he supposes will reconcile both countries, and secure this trade to us, viz. that we should prohibit the import of all East India goods, except such as are brought in directly in Irish ships.—How this is to reconcile the East India company I really do not see, but I imagine the bare stating the proposition is sufficient to convince the House that it would have the very contrary effect.

I have only one word more to say as to the question, whether an entry to China would be admitted by the commissioners of the revenue? I think the answer given by the officer applied to, was a proper one, and I should myself give the same. The board of commissioners are not a board to answer questions of law, they are not more omniscient than other people, and therefore, I believe,

they would decline giving any answer to such a question until the entry was offered; they would then take the advice of his Majesty's principal law officers, and by that advice they would certainly act.

Mr. CONYNGHAM informed the House, that when he was in Holland, a short time since, it had fallen under his observation that the tea trade from that country was totally annihilated by the commutation act of England, and that instead of merchants being ready there to embark in such a trade, though letters had been received from Gottenburgh that the sales of tea were going to begin, no body stirred, no body attended to them, and it was evident to all men that the Danish and Swedish companies, whose great dependence had formerly been the smuggling into England, must now be undone. Every one saw the folly of a competition with England, the moment she had taken the wise measure of preventing her own subjects from being the encouragers of smugglers.

He also gave an account of the Imperial Company, established under the direction of Count Rolli. They had been unable to sell their tea, and poor Count Rolli was become a bankrupt, notwithstanding the assistance of the Imperial Company.—He concluded his account with a sketch of the histories of the French companies, who were also become bankrupts in this trade, inasmuch that the people of that kingdom had petitioned the crown to permit the British East India Company to furnish France with the commodities of the East, in consequence whereof a contract had, by the French East India Company, been entered into with that of Britain; and from the whole he inferred, that so many great and powerful companies, supported not only with the accumulated wealth of many opulent individuals, but with public treasure of their respective nations, and yet having failed in attempting to maintain a trade with India, it would be unwise in Ireland to renounce riches at her door in pursuit of such adventures.

Mr. MASON said he had but little knowledge in the East India trade, until the honourable gentleman [Mr. Griffith] had instructed him. He had told the House that there was no occasion for a capital, and that he had letters from several opulent merchants who were ready to furnish one. Of these arguments, surely one was unnecessary, and from the honourable gentleman's statement it must be the latter; for it seems the ships of Ireland were to go to India, where they were to get money from the company's servants on bills negotiable on the exchange of London. This money they were to carry to China, and there they were to buy tea, which they were to bring home. He thought when the gentlemen so earnestly urged this trade, they proposed to take off some

of the manufactures or commodities of Ireland, but this tea trade was, it seems, to be carried on for ready money only—an idea too ridiculous.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said that when he considered the able speech made by his honourable friend on the subject of an East India trade for Ireland, it made him recollect an opinion of Sterne, "that Cappadocia, and Pontus, and Asia, was as good a text as any in the bible to preach upon," but when a motion is made in parliament, it was natural before it was agreed to to ask—is it necessary? or is it likely to be useful?

Is this motion necessary?—No. It asserts or vindicates no right that is disputed.—Is it likely to be useful?—No. It promises no trade that is likely to be either profitable or practicable. I am sure no man is rash enough to dispute the national rights of Ireland, and I should think no man would be romantic enough to talk at this day of a trade to the East for Ireland. If the honourable member is of a different opinion, he knows very well if he has twenty commissions in his pocket from the town of Newry, for the Emperor of China, or the Sophy of Persia, if the laws of this country do not prohibit the trade he may forward his orders; and if they do, he cannot expect, at this period of the session at least, that we should repeal those laws; therefore, from his own arguments, considered any way, his motion is unnecessary.

But let his notions of liberty or of commerce be ever so extensive, he must confess there never was a country that did not think it necessary to place boundaries to both; and as for an East India trade, there is not a nation in Europe that did not appropriate it to an exclusive company; and until we can establish an East India company of our own, we must, like the rest of his Majesty's subjects, conform to the charter and monopoly of the East India company of England. He said that it was an accommodation naturally growing out of our connection with, and relation to Great Britain; that though it was a matter that right perhaps may not claim, it was a matter that prudence would recommend; that the letter of some of our laws, and the spirit of all had recognized and enjoined it, and by the force of duties we had given the same monopolies to the British Plantations in the West, by temporary laws, he admitted. He said he would not depreciate the rights of Ireland; that he knew we had a right to trade with any independent nation in the universe, as well beyond the Cape of Good Hope as on this side of it; that we may engage in commerce with China, and India, and Persia, and Japan; that we may form commercial treaties with the Great Mogul (if he be disengaged) the King of Bantam, the Nabob of Arcott, or the Rajah of Bisenpour; or we may form connections in the deserts of Arabia, but all these treaties, and all these projects are but dreams and de-

lusions—the plunder of the East is pre-occupied, perhaps exhausted, and the practice of every nation in Europe will shew you, that it is a trade which can only be carried on by exclusive companies; and the condition of those companies will shew you, that though their servants may have amassed great wealth, the trade in general has not been advantageous to themselves or their country. The most prosperous the honourable member has named, is that of Sweden, which he confesses never sends out an article of their growth or manufacture.—In England it is a prodigal return of luxuries and superfluities, contending with, and controlling their own manufactures, two thirds of the price of which is sent out in bullion.

It is true, Sir, however, that it may be such a thing, as being possessed of, no nation can venture to surrender, yet perhaps the wisest may wish they had never undertaken it.

The East India company of England trade on a capital of seven or eight millions; they pay an army of 10,000 Europeans and 50,000 seapoys; and after all are beholden for their existence to the co-operation of a British fleet of twenty ships of war; yet still this company subsists on their revenues, and not on their trade.

To such a commerce would Ireland at this day aspire if she could!—or could she if she would!—In Great Britain it has grown to be part of the resources of the state; it has in a manner added twelve millions of people to the empire; it has become a part of the common strength, which as we value the power of her protection we are interested to support. I do not wish the honourable member to relinquish any claim, to weaken any rights, or to obscure any projects of benefit to his country; but I would not have him betray his countrymen from the natural progress of their industry, by premature and impracticable schemes.

My honourable friend has lately, I hear, embarked in some East Indian enterprize, in which he knows if the voyage be undertaken, and a return accomplished, it will be a losing game to him; and he may be as well assured that any national enterprize at this day to the same countries will be also a losing game to the nation. Let Ireland follow her arts, her manufactures, her agriculture, and her industry, and leave eastern projects to the rashness, and the whim, and restlessness of overgrown wealth.

Mr. CORRY, in reply to Sir Hercules Langrishe, said he sincerely hoped that the safe return of his friend [Mr. Whaley, with whom Mr. Corry was said to have made a bet about his going to visit the East Indies] would make his own enterprize in an East India import, prove a losing one to himself.

Mr. GRIFFITH complained that all he had stated had been misunderstood, or misrepresented, but upon the whole, he rejoiced that the question had come into debate, as it had given gen-

lemen on all sides an opportunity of declaring, that the right of Ireland to trade to the east, whenever she found it convenient, was unquestioned.

Mr. BERESFORD.—I beg pardon of the House for rising again, but hope they will excuse me, as it is only to make a single observation on the debate which has just now passed. I am very happy the honourable gentleman did introduce this subject, because it has shewn in the clearest manner to the public, the propriety and necessity there was in the last parliament to have seriously and soberly entered into a full investigation of the commercial bill, by receiving, committing and debating every clause of it; which must now be evident from this, that one of the great objections made against the system contained in it was, that the negociators had given up the rights and interests of this nation, by agreeing to an exclusive right in the East India company to trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, thereby depriving this country of the great and lucrative trade to the East Indies, &c. Now what has appeared in the course of this debate from the mouths of the very gentlemen who were so loud and so sanguine in the praises of this trade? Why, that England, with all her advantages, carries it on at a loss of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and that Ireland could not possibly have any part of it; so that the public may now see that so soon as the very first of the objections which were made to this system came to be examined, those objections have vanished, and appear to have been raised either through ignorance, or with a design to mislead the public, and to make them reject a system which when they shall coolly consider, I am confident they will most gladly adopt; and I have no doubt but that the time will soon come when the public will see who were most their friends, the administration of the two countries, who were willing to grant them an equal trade with Great Britain on equitable principles, or those gentlemen in both countries who, for purposes I shall not state, persuaded them not to accept of that system.

The question was then put on Mr. Corry's motion, and it passed in the negative.

The House then resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the inland navigations in this kingdom, Mr. Mason in the chair, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed several resolutions.

The committee reported that they had come to some resolutions, which the House agreed to receive on Monday.

MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1786.

The House resolved itself into a committee on the bill for securing the persons, houses, and properties of vicars, rectors, and curates, actually resident within their respective parishes.

Lord LUTTRELL.—I think this ought rather to be called a bill for insuring the persons, &c. &c. of vicars, rectors and curates. No man feels more horror than I do at the barbarities that have been practised against them; no man would go farther to punish the perpetrators of those barbarities; but my zeal would not carry me so far as to punish innocent men. I cannot agree to the assertion in the preamble of the bill, that these excesses arise from want of exertion in the parishioners; they arise from want of exertion in the magistrates, from the mere non-entity of the civil power, and from the absence of the great land owners; and therefore I cannot agree to the preamble, which declares the parishioners guilty.—What all—all—even the clerk and the sexton: I think it is going a great deal too far. It is an odd mode for the legislature to declare people guilty without any inquiry, and then to punish them for being guilty. It is giving a dog a bad name and then hanging him.

I own I would wish some proof, not of the barbarities; they are too obvious, but that the parishioners are in fault, before I would punish them; if they are guilty, a slight fine is not sufficient punishment; and this is downright compounding felony by act of parliament. It is felony to rob, to break houses, to burn corn, to chalk or maim; there are laws in force against all these crimes, and if so, why would you let go the offender, and punish the parish?

The SECRETARY OF STATE said that though the honourable gentleman was used to make his approaches in a very regular manner in his own profession, he happened to be a little eccentric in the profession of law-making, by debating the preamble of the bill first, which, with its title, was always postponed till the last; he had no doubt of his honourable and warm feelings; and though he had paid every degree of respect to the honourable general, which a knowledge of his worth could command, he thought the regard which in a former debate he had shewn for a parson's nose somewhat singular; but perhaps this regard arose from his considering it a part which men are liable to lose, not only in the defence of their country, but in less glorious wars.

The honourable general, continued he, says it is from the want of exertion in the magistrates that these enormities proceed; and he calls for facts to prove the parishioners are to blame. Had he attended an examination where I was present, he would have seen it clearly proved, by clergymen of undoubted veracity, that the parishioners are in fault, and that their anger is not against the

protestant clergy only, but the Romish clergy also have fallen under their displeasure. The fact is, that the excesses are generally committed by the lower order of the parishioners, through the want of exertion in the higher; but by making the parish liable to the damage, you go to the root of the evil.

The Secretary of State then proceeded to shew, that the principal of his bill was already adopted in many laws. He also informed the committee that he intended to improve the bill, by making the civil bill, which a clergyman suffering in his person or goods was enabled to bring against the parish, triable by a special jury, chosen out of a pannel of twenty-four ten-pound freeholders, which the sheriff should be bound to produce. As to the quantum of the damage, he also intended to limit that to 100*l*. and with those improvements, he hoped the bill would be deemed unexceptionable.

It had been said that judges were generally in so much haste, that civil bills were seldom tried with that deliberation that was due to justice. He hoped it was not so; if it was, it ought to be reformed. He remembered when civil bills were tried with as much solemnity as ever the cause of Hume and Loftus had been. He remembered a circumstance of that able and honest lawyer, Judge Singleton, which was so much to his honour, and so good an example to others, that he could not refrain from relating it.—The learned judge had sat in court, at an assize, till between four and five o'clock in the morning trying civil bills; just as the court broke up, and he was coming out, he heard a poor woman lamenting that she must be ruined by a bill for three or four pounds which was left untried; he immediately turned back, and with equal patience and humanity sat attentively to hear every thing that could be offered on either side, and then made his decision.

My intention in this bill, said the Secretary, is to make the parishioners the guardians of the public peace, from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Mr. BUSHE.—I beg leave to remind the noble general, that he himself, very much to his honour, introduced a bill upon the very principle of that now under debate; I mean the very humane and sensible bill for the relief of persons houghed.

The noble general says, this may be called an insurance bill; I think it may; and what is all civil society but an insurance of the lives and properties of men against the unrestrained violence of savage nature? The principle of the bill is as old as Alfred the great; and, as I have said, has been very properly adopted by the general himself. I think it is rather a bill of prevention than of punishment, for when the people feel that their mischiefs are falling on themselves, they will abstain from them.

Lord LUTTRELL.—I hope it never will be thought I speak of the maiming of any person but with indignation and horror. The right honourable gentleman, by way of getting into my stile, as he has pleased to declare, has given us a chapter upon noses, and insinuates something as to the danger of losing them in wars in which I am sure none of the clergy ever engage; and if neither they nor the right honourable gentleman engage in these wars, then the insinuation does not apply.

But to speak to the bill. I think no commutation ought to be made—no restitution can be made for maiming or disfiguring any man. A friend of mine, a few days since, after riding through Urlingford early in the morning, overtook beyond that town a person who proved to be a clergyman, riding seemingly in pain, with his head muffled to a monstrous size, and bound over with a napkin. My friend addressed him, being a very compassionate man, and enquired what was the matter. Ah! Sir, said he, did you not see, as you rode through that town, two ears and a cheek nailed to a post? I did, said my friend. They were mine, the clergyman replied. Now, Sir, I desire to know how a jury could assess adequate damages for a person treated in this manner? The land of the whole parish would not be sufficient, and therefore I say the idea of commutation for such barbarities is paltry and injurious, as people thinking the law satisfied by a fine, will be apt to let offenders escape. I will therefore in its proper place propose, that wherever the offender is brought to condign punishment in six months after his offence, the parish shall be exempted from the fine. This will induce the parishioners to seek after the offenders, as well as to prevent offences.

Mr. DENNIS DALY.—As the title and preamble of a bill are always designed to relate to and express the provisions it contains, it is necessary those provisions should first be decided upon before the title and preamble are formed.

I agree with the right honourable general, that in such a case as he has stated, the whole land of a parish would not be an adequate recompence to the sufferer; but as the fine is intended rather as a punishment to the parishioners for not preventing, than as a recompence to the injured party, my right honourable friend has declared his intention of limiting it to one hundred pounds.

As to the bill so very properly introduced by the noble lord, I do not think even that has any advantage over the present bill; that leaves the matter to be presented by a grand jury; the present bill requires that it be tried by a special jury. I do not, however, look upon the present bill as a complete, an effectual measure. I consider it only as a temporary expedient, or rather a declaration of the sentiments of parliament, which in future sessions will, I hope, adopt a system that must quiet all persons.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, (of Donegal) said he had so many objections to the bill, that he did not know where to begin: The first and most obvious was, the strange manner and unusual season in which it was brought in, without any examination or proof of its necessity. It might, he said, be calculated for some counties, but he was sure it was not for that to which he belonged, for there there was no disturbance. He complained that it totally abolished and laid aside the authority of grand juries, that it seemed calculated to oppress and drive to extremity those who are already disturbed, and to disturb those who are now quiet; perhaps it was so designed—he was not politic enough to know—but there were so many English interests that it was hard to guess. He asserted that nothing could be more grievous than the exactions and extortions of the clergy and their proctors, and hoped that the people might not be irritated by a bill for punishing them; that it might be deferred until the wisdom of parliament should adopt some method of relieving them from their burdens.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE.—It is impossible that any gentleman should wish that after having gone so far, you should declare to the injured clergy, you have nothing to hope from the protection of parliament, you are to be given up to the merciless hands of the rioters, your enraged oppressors. The right honourable mover of the bill does not say it goes to an effectual redress, but it certainly goes a great way; and until effectual redress can be devised, this bill ought to be adopted.

Mr. WOLFE.—If it was the last breath of the session it should be used for the protection of the clergy, and of the laws and constitution of the country; for when we speak of the clergy, we should consider them as embodied in the state; as whenever the hierarchy falls, the state of Ireland is overturned.

It has been said we should make enquiry and examine witnesses to the necessity of this bill. Is there a man who does not know the violences that have been used to prevent the collection of tythes in the southern part of this kingdom? That public proclamations against the payment of tythes have been posted in market towns, denouncing the severest punishments against any who should dare to pay or receive tythes? Is it not also known, that the persons who have suffered the most by the cruelty and depredation of insurgents were not all, perhaps, or any of them extortioners, but some of them certainly the very best and most liberal of mankind, yet the exertions of government, and all the rewards held out, have proved ineffectual?—It has been said that some have misconducted themselves—I very much doubt this assertion, but if they have, is it parliamentary or wise to say that the bands of society should be broken asunder, and that rioters should be made judges and executioners. But though the charge of

extortion has been so boldly made against the clergy, upon the best enquiry that I have been able to make, I find that it is unfounded. I request gentlemen will recollect that the tythes in several places are in the hands of the laity, and perhaps upon enquiry it will be found that the most oppressive exaction is where tythes are in lay hands. I have received a case drawn with the utmost art and ingenuity, in which is, I think, every possible question that the wit of man could devise, to draw from me an opinion how tythes may be evaded. There is indeed a general disposition to oppose the payment of the clergy's dues, and it will be found that they are much more frequently oppressed than oppressors. Yet gentlemen should consider, that so long as there is any pretence of religion in the country, the clergy are set apart for a particular duty—they cannot engage in any other line of life—the tythes are set apart for their maintenance, and they certainly have as much right to the one-tenth of the land, as the possessor in fee has to the other nine-tenths in rent. The clergy are employed by the state, and if they suffer in the service of the state, they have as much right to protection and redress as the maimed foldier, protected by the bill of the noble lord.

The principle of the bill is founded upon the best of our laws, the Saxon law, which is, that each district shall be answerable for the preservation of its own peace; and I cannot conclude without pointing out the distinguished propriety of referring the decision in case of trial where a clergyman must be considered as plaintiff, and the parish defendant, to a special, rather than grand jury, as the former can try and hear evidence *viva voce* in open court, a practice from which the latter are precluded; and this suit being in the nature of an action of debt, I insist it is the peculiar province of a petit-jury.

Mr. MASON.—Though I do not think this bill sufficient to answer the end proposed, yet I wish to have it passed, as an antidote to the poison of some declarations which I have heard, that the extortions of the clergy sent 100,000 persons to America, and were the cause of the whiteboys in Munster.

It is said the clergy are extortioners, but I say they do not receive the one half of what the law allows them; and if they do not exceed that which is lawful, they cannot come under the name of extortioners.

Sir, the bill before you tends as much to preserve the property of laymen as clergymen. If the insurgents succeed in their opposition to tythes, their next attack will be upon rents. Gentlemen in the county of Kilkenny can bear witness to this truth from experience. The whiteboys in that country first began with opposing tythes; no person gave himself any trouble about them; they then proceeded to prevent the payment of rents, and for years a

landlord could not restrain a tenant in that county, or set his lands but according to the will of the whiteboys. At last, united to opposition, they broke into the house of a gentleman, and murdered him. People then saw the danger, they thought it approached too near, they roused and exerted themselves and the whiteboys were suppressed.

Sir FREDERICK FLOOD said that though he by no means thought it a necessary bill at this time, as there were laws existing sufficient to maintain the rights and secure the properties of the clergy, if they are carried into execution as they should be, yet he was clear that the bill being presented to, and debated by the House, it would be attended with very bad consequences indeed if it was not now to pass into a law; for it would appear to the deluded common people, as if the legislature would not discountenance outrages against the clergy. He said that he never could endure to hear with patience that venerable and highly respectable body of men spoke slightly of, as they had been by some gentlemen; who, because they were not fond of going to church, ought not therefore to endeavour to bring our spiritual pastors into disrepute; that it was the good policy of the Roman Catholics to look up to their spiritual heads, and that it would not be unworthy of us to follow such an example. He added that he knew many of the clergy personally, and was never acquainted with any of them whose conduct did not merit every honour and reverence.

Mr. OGLE.—I formerly declared my approbation of this bill, but I never can bear to hear the protestant clergy of Ireland charged with extortion, without rising in their defence. Such a charge was never insinuated against the clergy of the county in which I live, though perhaps they might with truth complain of very great injustice practised against them.

The fact is, the landed man of Ireland is the great extortioner; there is hardly an estate which is not let to the highest penny, and much above its value. The poor tenant feels the oppression, and not knowing which way to turn, falls upon the clergy, as the weakest and most unprotected body of men. This is the true state of the case. I mention it that the House may not give ear to any charge of extortion against a body of men who in my soul I think do not deserve it.

The committee went through the bill, and the report was ordered to be made to-morrow.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to take into consideration the state of the inland navigations in this kingdom, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in

his place, and after delivered in at the table, and which are as follow :

1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the commissioners for promoting inland navigations in this kingdom, should ascertain before the 1st of June next, all debts due by them, whether for salaries, services, rents, agreements with private undertakers, or any other purpose, and should lay an account of the same, together with a list of warrants drawn by them, and yet unpaid, before the commissioners of imprest accounts.

2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the commissioners of imprest accounts should examine, audite and make declaration of the said accounts, in like manner as they are required by law to do in respect of any other accounts of public money, and that they should enquire into all such demands or claims upon the said corporation as shall be laid before them, and state their examination thereof and opinion thereupon, and lay the same before his grace the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, with all convenient speed, and also before this House on the 1st day of the next session.

3. Resolved, That in examining into the said accounts and all other accounts of the said corporation, the said commissioners should examine, audite and make declaration of the expenditure of all money granted by the said corporation to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, for any purpose whatsoever, and lay before this House on the 1st day of the next session their examination thereof, and opinion thereupon.

4. Resolved, That the said commissioners of imprest accounts should receive proposals from all persons who may be willing to undertake the compleating any navigation now actually begun or laid out, or on which any public money has at any time been expended, or any canal or canals to branch from the same, upon the terms specified in the resolutions of this House on the 28th May, 1785, and that they do give public notice that they will receive such proposals, and that all proposals which they shall receive be laid before this House on the first day of the next session.

5. Resolved, That the said corporation do, as soon as they conveniently can, employ one or more skilful engineers to make surveys and estimates, and draw plans and sections of the most effectual mode of compleating the navigation from Athy to the tide-water at the mouth of the Barrow, of the Nore from Kilkenny, and of the Suir from Clonmel to the Barrow, and also of the best lines of communication between the Grand Canal and the Shannon, both northern and southern, and of the navigation of the Shannon from Lough Allen to the deep water below Limerick, and of the best mode of communication between the Tyrone navigation and the present working collieries at Drumglass, and also the state of the navigation from Lough Neagh to the sea, below Newry, and whe-

ther any and what repairs are necessary to be made thereupon; all which surveyes, plans, estimates and sections to be laid before this House on the first day of the next session.

6. Resolved, That it may be expedient that the said corporation should exercise the powers vested in them by law of raising tolls on such navigations as they may think proper, for the repairs thereof.

7. Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to order such as he shall think proper of the debts which shall be stated by the commissioners of imprest accounts to be due by the said corporation for salaries, services, rent, repairs and work, for which no warrants have been issued, and also all the necessary expences which shall attend the ordering, making and receiving any surveyes and estimates to be made by the direction of the said corporation in consequence of the resolutions of this House, to be paid at his Majesty's treasury, and that this House will make good the same.

The question being put on these resolutions, they were agreed to by the House.

It was resolved, *nem. con.* that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to order such as he shall think proper of the debts which shall be stated by the commissioners of imprest accounts to be due by the said corporation, for salaries, services, rent, repairs and work, for which no warrants have been issued, and also all the necessary expences which shall attend the ordering, making and receiving any surveyes and estimates to be made by the direction of the said corporation in consequence of the resolutions of this House, to be paid at his Majesty's treasury, and that this House will make good the same.

A petition of William Smith was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioner is a trustee to a sister in the sum of 300*l.* and to the same amount for an orphan niece; that in May, 1777, bonds were taken from, and judgment entered against Robert Brooke, Esq; for the said two several sums of 300*l.* each; that the petitioner is alarmed at a clause introduced in a bill now pending, to gavel all judgments and debts in common with simple contract creditors; that the petitioner begs the attention of the House to notice that the said two judgments are the only lien on said Brooke's estates before his entering into trade; and therefore praying that no clause may be suffered to pass injurious to that priority of claim and the statutes now in force in this kingdom.

Mr. GREENE presented a bill to amend an act passed in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his present Majesty's reign,

entitled an act for the relief of insolvent persons under a certain description, so far as the same relates to William Bayly, an uncertified bankrupt, still in confinement; which was received and read the first time.

TUESDAY, APRIL 4, 1786.

Mr. ARTHUR WOLFE presented a bill for the relief of uncertified bankrupts; which was received and read the first time.

Mr. HAYES (of Avondale) reported from the committee appointed to enquire into the arrangement of business in the clerks offices, and the state of the buildings belonging to the House of Commons, and whether any and what alterations are necessary to be made therein, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, and are as follow :

1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that an additional clerk should be established in the chief clerk's office, to take care of the office and its papers whilst the chief clerk is in the House, to copy orders, draw out the votes, and attend to the office business during the sitting of the House.

2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the business of engrossing requires a second engrossing clerk.

3. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the journal of the session ought to be made out in a fair distinct hand, and that every paper delivered into the House, and every report made, should be copied at large therein, so as that the copy should be preserved, if the original be lost or mislaid.

4. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that it should be henceforward the duty of the clerk of the journals to make out such fair journal, under the direction of the chief clerk.

5. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee that all the papers presented to the House ought to be preserved with the utmost care, and that no clerk should suffer any person whatever to take any original paper out of the House, or out of the office of record.

6. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that all strangers who may desire to have copies of any papers, bills, petitions or records, should be furnished with the same upon the Speaker's approving thereof, they paying to the clerk the sum of 1s. for every ninety words, as established by the table of fees, settled by the House in session 1695.

7. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that all members of this House who may desire to have copies of any pa-

pers before the House or in the record office, should have them made out, and pay at the rate of 4d. per sheet only for the same.

8. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that no original bill or paper should be ever sent to the printing-office, but that whenever any bill or paper is ordered to be printed, a copy thereof be made in the chief clerk's office, and sent to the printer.

9. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that as no record of any bill originating in the House of Lords, and thence sent to this House, has been hitherto preserved among the records of this House, a copy of every such bill should be made in the journal office, to be preserved among the records.

10. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that out of the sum of 500l. granted this session to the Speaker, for the better arrangement of business in the clerks offices, the sum of 200l. be paid to George Davis Sherry, as clerk in the chief clerk's office; and the sum of 140l. to Edward Tresham, as engrossing clerk, the House having given a like sum to Dawson Ellis; the other engrossing clerk, the said two sums to be in full of all expences attending the engrossment of public bills.

11. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that out of the said sum of 500l. there be paid to James Corry, clerk of the journals, for copying the journals in manner above-mentioned, and for making copies of bills originating in the Lords, a sum after the rate of 3d. by the sheet for the same.

12. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that whenever the hurry or dispatch of business should require extra clerks to be employed occasionally in the chief clerk's office, or in committees, it is reasonable that the chief clerk and committee clerks should be recompenced the actual expence paid by them to such extra clerks, the approbation of the Speaker for their employment being first obtained.

13. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the preservation and arrangement of the records require much larger accommodation than the present buildings.

14. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that there is not at present a sufficient number of select committee rooms for the trials of controverted elections, nor any rooms for witnesses, and that two more committee rooms may be necessary to be built, with separate rooms for witnesses contiguous thereto.

15. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that in order to procure a convenient situation for the building of such rooms it will be expedient to purchase a sufficient breadth of ground on the west side, from the north-west angle of the present building to College-green.

16. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that for the better maintenance of a proper coffee-room the keeper thereof be appointed by the Speaker, under such regulations as he

shall direct, such person not to pay any fee or rent for the same, and that no person but such as the Speaker shall appoint do presume to keep any coffee-house or tavern in any part of the buildings belonging to this House.

These resolutions being severally read a second time, were, upon the question being put, agreed to by the House.

Mr. BOLTON presented the report from the committee on the bill for rendering sub-constables more useful.

Mr. DENNIS DALY said if he had read the bill sooner than he had done, he would possibly have produced a better proviso than that which he meant to propose. He observed that the sum to be raised was specified, but there had no distinction whatever been made between counties, and counties of cities, and counties of towns; so that should the tax be levied indiscriminately, it would be an intolerable burden on several counties of cities and towns. He approved of the principle of the bill, and moved the following proviso: "that the presentment of the grand jury for raising constables, &c. should not exceed the annual sum of 400l."

Lord LUTTRELL declared himself decidedly against both bill and proviso; he was surprised that a matter of such very great importance should be introduced so late in the session; the subject in question was of much greater extent than gentlemen imagined; it was no less than taxing the nation to the amount of 40,000l. annually, besides the immediate contingency of 18,000l. and for what? for raising and arming a power of the very worst species, of the strangest nature. He had no idea of a constable being armed with a firelock, and should rather wish to see him as usual armed with a long pole. Should the bill be persisted in, he would certainly give it his negative; he would therefore advise the right honourable gentleman to postpone the consideration of the bill, in order that gentlemen might have time to study it, and to examine whether it was really exceptionable or not.

Mr. DALY replied, that as to the lateness of the session, it was well known that a full House could not at present be procured, and there was an absolute necessity for a regulation of the kind. The proviso he meant, was to preclude all possibility of abuse, and as a melioration of the bill.

Mr. GARDINER said that last night was the first time he heard of the bill, not having been able for two or three days past to attend his duty in the House. He thought the introduction of it at the close of the session rather strange. For his part, he should certainly oppose the passing of the bill, as he considered the county of Dublin most enormously taxed already, and unable to bear any further addition. He thought the bill perfectly unnecessary; for by the law of the land, as it now stands, there is a power for raising sub-constables.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said he imagined there was some mistake as to the expence the nation would incur by the establishment; it would not exceed 12,800*l.* per annum.

Mr. BUSHE said there must be a representation of peculiar disturbance and turbulence in a particular county, made on oath before a judge of assize, before these constables could be embodied.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE declared himself totally against the bill. He would have signified his disapprobation of it sooner, had he not been obliged to attend the assizes, during which the bill had been introduced. It was, he said, a bill of very great importance to the nation, nothing less than the reform of the police of the whole kingdom; it was a general tax, and should it take place, grand juries would be necessitated to neglect all the country works, to suffer them to run to ruin, and defer the repairing of roads. It had been adduced as an argument for the bill, that there must be a peculiar representation to the judge of a peculiar turbulence; but every one knows how easily that could be obtained, as well as other jobs. Time should be allowed for discussion, and he thought that every man possessed of an estate in the country should oppose the bill.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE said he thought it would be an oppression in the highest degree. He would not be able to vindicate himself to his constituents should he consent to the bill.

The SECRETARY OF STATE defended the bill on its principle and expedience, and said he was certain that the opposition made by gentlemen to it was from misapprehension, as its operation was only directed to the southern counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary, where outrages had arisen to an enormous height, little short of rebellion, such as the present establishment of the civil power was inadequate to quell. He concluded with observing, that he had no interest or view whatsoever but the public good, in the introduction of the bill.

Mr. GARDINER said he did not doubt the professions of the right honourable gentleman, but he could not be persuaded that a few constables being scattered over the country would be attended with any good effect, for if the supposed disturbances should occur, which were the grounds of the present bill, they would be unable to quell them; in all probability they would be employed as domestic servants, or as porters by gentlemen; the salary allowed would be reckoned in their wages, and then indeed, they might be useful to two or three individuals.

Mr. JOHN WOLFE said he thought it was rather strange that sixteen particular men should be deemed capable of quelling a tumult, which the whole force of the county it were to be supposed was inadequate to. It was a bad principle to form a general bill

from partial circumstances. He concluded with remarking the impropriety of pressing so important a measure as a regulation of the police of the whole kingdom when there were not forty members in the House.

A motion was made for deferring the consideration of the bill to the first of May, when it was withdrawn by the Secretary of State, and of course the whole business fell to the ground.

A motion was made, that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant to the commissioners for making a wide and convenient way from Essex-bridge to the Castle of Dublin, a sum not exceeding towards enabling them to purchase a sufficient breadth of ground on the west side of the Parliament House, for building necessary rooms and offices, and opening a wide and convenient space before them, and continuing the passage on the north side, and that this House will make good the same.

Resolved, *nem. con.* that the House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take the said motion into consideration.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1786.

The bill for the relief of uncertified bankrupts was read a second time, and ordered to be committed forthwith.

The House accordingly resolved into a committee on the same, in which an additional clause was introduced (being of the same purport and tendency of a bill lately brought in) for repealing as much of the act of the 21st and 22d years of his present Majesty's reign, for the benefit of insolvent debtors of a certain description, as related to William Bayly, an uncertified bankrupt; which clause, with the bill, being reported and agreed to, the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

Lord LUTTRELL moved that the committee for investigating the fees on public and private bills have leave to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, which was agreed to.

The SECRETARY OF STATE moved for permission to withdraw the bill to regulate presentments of grand juries for clerks of the crown, &c. which was granted.

An engrossed bill for the protection of the persons, houses and properties of rectors, vicars and curates actually resident in their parishes, or in any of them, was read the third time.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said he was not in the House when this bill had passed through its several stages, or he would before have expressed his sentiments upon it; which in general were, that the bill would fail in answering the intentions for which it was brought in, and rather operate against them, as no regulation respecting the abuses and oppressions committed in collecting the tithes was a part of it; that this evil was arrived to such a height, that he had known at one time in Limerick one hundred and twenty processes against poor people for tithes in the civil bill court. He wished that as a more equitable provision for the clergy, the tithes should be levied on the lands. For all these reasons, continued he, I move you that the further consideration of this bill be adjourned to this day-se'nnight.

Mr. ORDE.—I agree in part with the right honourable gentleman who has made you this motion, that the bill is inadequate to its purposes, yet I must revere the principles on which it is founded; its introduction, however, will shew the world that this House is willing to protect the clergy in the enjoyment of their property. It is now, indeed, too late in the session to proceed in a business of so complicated a nature, and not effecting it completely might do more harm than good. As to tithes, they are a question I do not well understand, but I wish their collection may be regulated more to the general satisfaction than they are at present.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL.—While I reprobate the outrages committed on the clergy by lawless insurgents, and lament them, I contend for it, that a method of collecting a provision for the clergy should be devised less oppressive to the people.

Mr. MASON.—I am sorry to find a bill which had my warm support is not likely to pass into a law. The conduct of tithe farmers does not in the least apply to this bill, which is calculated to protect the resident clergy, few of whom farm their tithes. However as it seems to be the sense of the House to let this bill die away, I shall not divide the House.

Mr. BERESFORD.—Gentlemen having introduced the subject of tithes in the debate upon this bill, I think it necessary to say that I cannot see any mention of regulating tithes in it. It is brought on for the express purpose of suppressing the riots among the people in the south of this kingdom, in which the clergymen seem the particular objects of their vengeance. I think the bill goes far enough, and that it is right not to touch upon tithes, as it is a subject of a very serious nature.

Lord LUTTRELL said he thought the bill, if it was passed, would do a great deal of mischief in its present state, but he was sure if it underwent the serious consideration of the honourable mover it would have very good effects, as he was convinced of his great abilities.

Mr. TOLER said there was reason to think the outrages complained of were at an end; at least in the county of Tipperary, where the gentlemen had associated for the purpose of putting an end to them. He then recommended to the right honourable gentleman [the Secretary of State] who had brought in this bill, to consult with the gentlemen of that county, many of whom had the highest respect for him, on a bill that would obviate the evil by the regulation of the tithes, in a manner agreeable to the sentiments of the people, for no law will ever be carried into execution in that county, or in any other, against the sentiments of the people.

The SECRETARY OF STATE said he supposed it would be expected that he should say something on a subject which had engaged much of his time and attention; on which he had carefully investigated the several statutes and legal authorities that related to it, and consulted some of the ablest lawyers. He declared it to be his decided opinion, without a doubt in his mind, that the bill, as it now stood, would be highly beneficial to the clergy. It was his wish, and he had laboured to make it more so; but his endeavours were opposed and defeated by some of the gentlemen who now alledge that they object to the bill because it does not go far enough. To prove the present bill to be highly beneficial to the clergy, he entered into the different parts of it. He observed, that it established this salutary principle, that the person, habitation and property of the rector, vicar, and curate, actually resident in his parish, was under the peculiar protection of the law, which extended a certain and summary relief to him, not granted to others, because his situation exposed him more to danger, and was more defenceless than that of the rest of his fellow subjects. For offences against his house and person, if riotously committed, he may have redress by civil bill and special jury to the amount of 100*l.* against the parish, with his costs out of pocket and the expences of collecting; and when it is considered that such offences are usually committed by persons of the lowest orders of the people, who are unable to make compensation in damages, the remedy given to the clergyman against the parish, must be allowed to be a great benefit acquired by him under this bill; but the protection given to his property is a much greater benefit, because if the injury appears to have been done maliciously, though not riotously, this bill gives redress in the manner and to the extent before mentioned. This part of the law would guard the clergy against the injustice to which they are now exposed, by the destruction of their tithes after they are set out, and which is now the source of every mischief to them; and for this oppression there is at present no redress if the names of the offenders shall not be discovered, which is generally found impossible;

but by this bill the proof of the destruction of their property would ensure them immediate redress. But the greatest advantage remains to be mentioned—the effect of the law would be to prevent the mischief. It is notorious that these outrages proceed from a combination among the parishioners, and would be prevented when they saw that the whole loss, costs and expences would fall upon themselves without delay, and without possibility of chicanery. By those means peace and tranquillity would be restored between the pastor and his flock, and the parishioners would be bound to guard the person, habitation and property of the guardian of their morals. Of this property, bonds, notes and other securities for tithes were declared to be a part, for the destruction of which, consequently, the parish must make amends; and here another great temptation to acts of violence, namely, the seizing and destruction of tithe securities, would be removed.

He wished to have made it part of the bill, that the clergy should have six days for keeping their tithes on the land after they should be set out, but observed, that some of those clauses which prevented the destruction of property, would, in his opinion, answer nearly the same end.—He said, this bill took no remedy whatever from them; that the act which gave them remedy by presentment was found ineffectual from the number of requisites prescribed by the law to be performed before there could be any recovery, and because it was to fall on the county, barony or parish, and therefore did not sufficiently controul the parishioners. That the granting new, and at the same time continuing the old remedies, would evince that the legislature was determined to proceed till the evil should be extirpated; and such a determination, once known, would repress the present spirit of outrage. He said that no reasonable layman would be displeased at our providing peculiar remedies for our clergy; that the ancient statutes were full of those remedies. Lord Coke says they would take up a volume to enumerate. The modern statutes also abounded with such instances. The reason for those distinctions never operated with more force than at a time when the clergy, in some parts of this kingdom, had been treated with great oppression.—Here he observed that those disturbances did not proceed from religious prejudices, for that the Roman catholic clergy had been equally ill-treated by those insurgents.

He said he would next consider the objections to the bill, which were of the most discordant nature. One gentleman says, if you go into the subject of tithes, I shall vote against your bill. Says another, I object because you have not gone far enough to secure their collection. One gentleman is against the bill because the remedy is not sufficiently effectual, but does not think proper to suggest any amendment to make it more so; another says, I am against your bill, because you have not made a new constitution,

abolished tithes, and given the clergy a commutation. The last head of argument he reprobated in the strongest terms, and was persuaded that the honourable gentleman who used it was not aware of the consequences which would follow that mode of reasoning—to expose our clergy to violence and outrage, till we forced them into a commutation of their property on such terms as we should prescribe, would be the highest injustice. That such an argument was more extraordinary at such a time as the present, when we saw our clergy flying in troops before bands of armed ruffians, chased from their dwellings, forced from their duty, driven from those important posts where the national wisdom had placed them to guard the morals and religion of our people, while neither the law can afford them protection nor the magistrate assistance, nor the altar itself an asylum. When the legislature is appealed to for redress, the reverend pastor of the people is exhibited to their representatives with his ears, and his nose, and his cheeks torn away—*populataque tempora raptis auribus, & truncas inboneſto vulnere nares*. These circumstances had been stated, he was persuaded, to excite our abhorrence of those savage outrages, but he would turn from this horrible image, and say only to those gentlemen, whose talents and abilities had been exerted for the relief of the clergy with such success, that not more than four attending members were now against the bill—*omnia solvisti Deipobolo*.

But notwithstanding his decided opinion of the utility of this bill, and though he affirmed that he had not in that House heard an argument of the weight of a feather against it, yet he had consented to postpone it, and that otherwise the bill would have passed with scarcely a dissentient voice. He had, however, agreed to postpone, because he wished that all the friends of the measure in both Houses should co-operate on this occasion with one hand and heart—because any disunion might be fatal to the cause, and because the loss of this bill in another place might be misconstrued. The clergy might then say that we offered them, in the midst of their distresses, a palliative instead of a remedy; and the laity might unjustly say the clergy are not to be satisfied. He therefore agreed to give time for the fullest deliberation. He agreed to retire, but it was after an undisputed victory; for he had himself prevented the question for passing the bill from being proposed, which would have passed with almost the general concurrence of that House. This he wished to be known, to shew that the Commons were determined to redress the sufferings of their clergy, and delayed only till further and permanent relief could be admitted; for he observed that the present bill would have continued no longer than three years. He had lived long enough in the world to feel the necessity of accommodating himself to the opinions of others, and of endeavouring to win his way through difficulties and obstructions by temporary delays, that may ensure

more ample success on a future day. He had, he said, considered the subject of tithes with all the attention in his power to bestow on any subject. He flattered himself that he had something to propose, which would have been generally acceptable. He was prepared to do it in this session, but was prevented by finding that some persons, for whose opinions he had great regard, differed from him. He thought it just that in the mean time the clergy should be protected in their persons, habitations and properties, that if ever there was to be a negotiation on this subject, the clergy should treat in perfect security, and with minds undisturbed by violence and outrage; and he desired it might be remembered, that their title was more ancient than that of any gentleman to his estate; and that in the general they had not received more than one-third of property, their rights to which were established by common and statute law, and immemorial usage.

Mr. OGLE said he lamented the fate of the bill.

The question being then put, the postponing of the further consideration of the bill was agreed to without a division.——
Thus the bill was lost.

Mr. ORDE gave notice that he should to-morrow move somewhat relative to public education, a subject that had been recommended to the House from the throne for two sessions; not that any thing could be done now more than putting the business in a train against next session.

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1786.

Mr. MASON reported from the committee appointed to draw up an address to the Lord Lieutenant, for a sum of money for purchasing ground whereon to erect certain additional offices to the Parliament House, that they had agreed upon an address for ten thousand pounds to be applied to said purpose. The House having approved thereof, directed that such members as are of the privy council do wait on the Lord Lieutenant with the same.

Mr. ORDE said he held in his hand some resolutions, and an address, upon a subject of very high concern to the nation, which he had mentioned yesterday, the improvement of the education of youth. The object of his resolutions was to extend the means of education universally through the country at so cheap a rate, that few persons should be excluded from its advantages. He was aware that there are several endowed schools throughout the kingdom, and some of them rich, but their very opulence was the chief cause that defeated the intention of their founders; for the masters of some of the best endowed schools, content with receiving

their salaries, either did no duty at all, or in so careless a manner, that the youth of the kingdom derived very little advantage from it. He would not therefore propose to proceed in the common manner, by endowing schools for the benefit of masters, but rather hoped some method might be adopted to help or support young people under a course of education, not merely by paying the master, but by assisting the scholars in the pursuit of knowledge, and afterwards to encourage scholars so formed to become teachers, rising in succession. This he thought might be done at an expence small indeed when compared to the benefits which the nation must derive from it. However, that the House might proceed with proper caution, and with that delicacy and regard which is due to the property of individuals, he would move, first, a resolution declaratory of the principle on which he intended to proceed, and afterwards an address, by which he hoped to acquire the means of carrying that principle into practice.

He then moved, that the national foundation of one or more public schools, with regulations adapted thereto, for facilitating and extending to the youth of this kingdom the means of good education, would be of great public utility.

The SECRETARY OF STATE seconded the motion. He said there was nothing he more earnestly wished for than to see a wise and well adapted plan for extending the advantages of a good education to the youth of this country carried into effect, and at the same time that he was persuaded such a plan might be put in practice at a small expence, he was convinced that it was extremely wanted, and that infinite advantage would accrue to the kingdom from it.

Mr. CORRY.—The intention of the right honourable gentleman deserves the highest praise from every person, and if it was not a subject of very great magnitude indeed, I should not hesitate to confide it implicitly to the right honourable gentleman who seconds him. But I do not fully understand the subject, and cannot avoid thinking the mode of proceeding somewhat odd. Perhaps it is a wise one; but as it is not clear to me, I beg the right honourable gentleman will descend to the level of my comprehension, and have the goodness to explain it.

Mr. ORDE.—I thought I had been sufficiently plain—my wish is, first to assert the principle of the necessity and advantage of improving the education of the youth of this kingdom, and then to obtain plans for carrying this principle into effect. If I had the plans now ready, I should proceed in a different manner, and not defer to next session a business of so much importance.

Mr. CORRY then rose to enquire whether any thing had been done towards settling the trade of this country with Portugal.

He said it was generally understood that the interests of Ireland were not pushed with that vigour that they ought; he therefore thought he did ministers a kindness in offering them an opportunity of shewing that they had not neglected the interests of the country. He also observed that the British ministry being now in actual treaty with France for a commercial settlement, the interests of Ireland were deeply concerned; so much so that he held it improper to discuss the subject publicly. If therefore the right honourable gentleman would declare that the interests of Ireland should be regarded with due attention, he would cheerfully confide the business to him.

Mr. ORDE.—If I had any information to lay before the House upon the subject of the Portugal business, I would have prevented the question asked by the honourable gentleman, as I am convinced I do not feel less anxiety to have it brought to a pleasing issue than that honourable gentleman, or any other member of this House; and I am also convinced that both in the Portugal and French commercial treaties, the interests of Ireland will be regarded by ministers with as much care as the interests of Britain.

The honourable gentleman has declared that he has no hostile intention in making this enquiry. I believe that he has not. I think he is wise in not having a hostile intention, and I wish he had not added a suspicion, which, if not an indication of an hostile intention, I must submit to the House whether it be a very friendly one.

Mr. CORRY said he had much more to say on the Portugal business, and had received from good authority several facts, which he forbore to mention, and he hoped by that, and every other part of his conduct, to shew that he acted as a friend to his country, not as an opposer of ministers merely. He did not mean to make any charge, and desired to be considered as not having made any, but as leaving every thing relative to the business in question to be developed by the hand of time.

Mr. ORDE said he hoped the honourable gentleman, in what he said did not mean to insinuate any inattention to the interests of Ireland, either in the ministers on this or the other side of the water. He was convinced that the honourable gentleman could not be more eager to bring matters to a pleasing conclusion than ministers on both sides were.

Mr. CORRY.—As to charge, or exculpation, I mean neither one or the other.

It was then resolved, *nem. con.* that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, requesting that his Grace will be pleased to give directions for the preparing plans of the necessary arrangements for establishing public schools, with an

estimate of the expence thereof, accompanied with observations respecting the situations most proper for the same.

It was then ordered, that the proper persons do make returns to the House of the schools of royal or other foundations in the respective dioceses in this kingdom, specifying the present yearly value of their respective endowments, of what they consist, the names of the masters and assistants, the salaries or allowances paid to the masters, ushers, assistants, or other officers belonging to the said schools, as the same stood on the 25th day of March, 1786, together with the number of scholars at that time in each school respectively, distinguishing the free scholars, the boarders and the day scholars.

It was also ordered that the registers of the several dioceses do return to this House, on the 1st day of the next session, an account of the English schools kept by the rectors or vicars in their respective dioceses, with the number of scholars therein respectively on the 5th day of March, 1786.

Then the House adjourned until Tuesday the 11th inst.

TUESDAY, APRIL 11, 1786.

Mr. CHARLES O'NEILL said that early next sessions of parliament, he would move for a committee to be appointed to examine into all the obsolete, defective, and unnecessary statutes, and he hoped he should have the assistance of gentlemen on that head.

A message was received from the Lords that they had made some amendments to the bill for the protection and improvement of the inland fisheries, by inserting a clause for opening the weirs in rivers where salmon are caught.

Mr. PERY rose to object to agreeing to the clause: He said it was an attack on the chartered rights of the city which he had the honour to represent; it was not only an attack on chartered rights, but also an invasion of private property; a similar clause had been attempted to be introduced in this House, in the bill during its progress, but the House, out of that regard which they had ever shewed to chartered rights, and to private property, had unanimously rejected the clause; he should therefore move that this clause be rejected.

Sir HERCULES LANGRISHE said he had last year voted against a clause of a similar nature as the present, but on mature consideration he was inclined to declare that he had acted wrong, as something was absolutely necessary to be done to preserve the salmon fishery of this kingdom: This clause could not occasion any great

mischief, as its operation was limited to two years, and in his opinion, it would be better that a suspension of chartered rights should take place for that time, than endanger a fishery of such great general consequence; he should therefore most heartily concur in the clause, as amended in the bill.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE declared he thought the clause sent down from the Lords very unexceptionable; it could not be construed to affect in the smallest degree the privileges of this House, and at any rate it could be only an experimental clause, as its extent was only for two years, and he was confident that the Limerick fishery would be rather benefited than injured by it. He said the salmon would be totally destroyed if the rivers are kept shut, and if the rivers are shut against them they will find their way to the rivers of England and Scotland; he had understood that the corporation of Limerick had agreed to open the gates, provided the salmon-fry was protected.—The present clause he approved of, for it was necessary to protect the salmon fishery; if it was not, it would be lost to this kingdom. He concluded with mentioning, that when he was in the army, he had known salmon to be sold in the city of Limerick at a halfpenny a pound, and it now sold at four-pence and five-pence a pound.

Mr. PERY observed that the officers of the corporation of the city of Limerick have but very small salaries, and the salmon fishery was a principal source of their support; as to the experiment proposed by the clause, he asked if any gentleman would wish his estate should undergo an experiment for two years: He rested on the justice of the House, to pay due regard to chartered rights, and to the property of individuals.

Mr. GODFREY GREEN objected to the clause, and principally on this account, that it was an invasion of private property: A friend of his had a mortgage of 700*l.* on a salmon fishery, and his property might be materially affected by the present clause.

Sir HENRY HARTSTONGE spoke in favour of the clause; he wished the whole county of Limerick should partake of the advantages of the salmon fishery, as well as the city did.

Mr. CONOLLY said he objected to the clause; he considered it as an innovation on chartered rights, and he should oppose such innovation either by land or water.

Mr. MASON said that it was not equitable that six or seven counties should forego their natural rights, in order to preserve the rights of the city of Limerick.

Mr. TRENCH said he conceived the amendment made by the Lords to be similar to a clause proposed and rejected this session in the Commons (except as to its duration); he thought the last day

of a session an improper and uncandid time to discuss a matter of private property, when the sufferers had not an opportunity to state their grievance, or to apply for redress; but that such conduct would necessarily enforce a strict parliamentary attendance; for no man could say how soon his private personal property might be transferred by the means of an amendment. Each member, therefore, should sit and watch for themselves.

On the question being put for agreeing to the clause, the House divided, when the numbers were,

Ayes - - 51 Noes - - 9

The engrossed bill from the Lords, for vesting in trustees the estates of Stephen Creagh Butler, Esq; for the purposes therein mentioned, was read a first time, and the question was put that it might now be read a second time.

The SPEAKER observed that, in his opinion, it was unparliamentary to read a bill a second time the same day.

Mr. GODFREY GREEN stated the case of Mr. Butler, and said he hoped if the order could be dispensed with, it might in the present instance.

The sense of the House appearing to coincide with the opinion of the Speaker, the bill was refused the second reading, and of course it fell to the ground this session.

The bill for the protection of resident vicars, curates, and rectors in their own houses, was, on the motion of the Secretary of State, ordered to be printed.

Mr. TRENCH brought up the report from the committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the funds of the Lying-in Hospital.

The SECRETARY OF STATE informed the House that he was commanded by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them that it was his Grace's pleasure that this House do adjourn itself until Saturday the 29th day of April instant.

Mr. GRIFFITH.—Sir, when I rise on this subject, it is with every deference to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and to the right honourable gentleman who made the motion. In my opinion the motion is highly improper and unconstitutional, because it looks as if this House was obliged to obey the mandates of the viceroy. I admit that the chief governor certainly possesses a prerogative, whereby he can at pleasure prorogue this House; if such is his intention, he could certainly accomplish it without any intermediate assistance; but to say that this House shall, in obedience to a message from the Lord Lieutenant, adjourn, is, I think, rather of too great a latitude; it is bringing forward the name of a great charac.

ter, which should never be mentioned to influence debate, as an argument—a thing not warrantable. If the right honourable gentleman wished for such adjournment, surely he might simply move for it as a member of the House; if his Grace the Duke of Rutland wished for it, he was in possession of the means of effectuating his wish. Upon the whole I am of opinion that the motion is of a very indelicate tendency, and might be construed in a light not very advantageous to the honour of the House: I shall therefore oppose it; but my opposition proceeds from no other principle than a desire to maintain with real dignity the character of the House.

The SECRETARY OF STATE contended that the motion which he had just made was highly constitutional, proper, and parliamentary; it was nothing more than a common usage—a common custom of parliament; it was rather strange that the honourable gentleman could think of offering any opposition to it, as it was well known that it was the mode—that it was the general usage uniformly practised, which it could not be supposed that the honourable gentleman was ignorant of. He had prefaced indeed with, “that it was his Grace the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure, that the House should adjourn until Saturday the 29th day of April,” which the honourable gentleman might take in whatever sense he might think proper; he might put on the words what construction he pleased, but his motion was, that the House should adjourn until the day before mentioned; for his part it was the first time he had known any opposition to be offered in a similar case—that a message from the Lord Lieutenant, signifying that it was his wish there should be an adjournment of a few days.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE followed the Secretary of State. He said he had known it to be the invariable rule of parliament to receive such messages, and he would aver from his own knowledge, that he had at no time whatever observed the smallest opposition to them, or the smallest obstruction thrown in their way. But to speak more particularly to the point—when, said he, I was an unworthy servant of the state, under a nobleman who had the honour of being placed here as chief governor, I can assure the House, that at least ten or twelve different times I have delivered to them messages exactly similar to that presented by the Right Honourable Secretary of State; and I can also assure them that there never was the most distant idea of opposition manifested—so that it is but fair to infer that the objections of the honourable gentleman are unfounded in fact, and that the motion before the House is strictly proper and parliamentary.

The question was then put by the Speaker, that the House do adjourn until Saturday the 29th of April; and Mr. Griffith offering no further objection, it passed unanimously.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1786.

The House met pursuant to adjournment, but the bills not being returned from England, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House, that he was commanded by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint them, that it was his Grace's pleasure that the House do adjourn until Monday the 8th of May next.

And then the House adjourned accordingly.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1786.

A petition of the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Newry whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the prosperity and trade of the town of Newry depend chiefly upon the inland navigation from Lough Neagh to said town; that the inhabitants of Newry, sensible of the very dangerous and decayed state of that great and public work, and of the gross mismanagement of the superintendant of said navigation, did, in the month of October, 1785, enter into the following proceedings:

“ To ACHESON THOMPSON, Esq; Seneschal:

“ We, the undersigned, request that you will, on the earliest
“ day convenient, call a meeting of the town, in order to take
“ into consideration the present alarming state of the Newry
“ navigation.
“ Newry, 23d October, 1785.”

(Signed by eighteen names.)

“ In consequence of the above requisition I request a meeting
“ of the inhabitants, at the Liberty Market-house, on Wednesday
“ the 26th instant, at the hour of twelve at noon.
“ Newry, 23d Oct. 1785.

ACHESON THOMPSON, Seneschal.”

The town having met, Acheson Thompson, Esq; in the chair, the following resolutions were entered into:

“ Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the navigation is, and has been for a long time, in a state of rapid
“ and dangerous decay, and is in imminent danger of being rendered totally useless to the public.

“ Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to Acheson Thompson, William Beath and William Glenny, Esqrs. for

“ their public-spirited attention to the interests of Newry, in taking a survey of the navigation on Friday last.

“ Resolved, that the navigation from Lough Neagh to the sea is one principal support to the trade and prosperity of the town of Newry, as well as essentially advantageous to many other towns and a scope of inland country, and that its welfare ought at all times to be regarded by this town with the most watchful attention.

“ Resolved, that convinced of the risk there is of the navigation being stopped in the canal, from its decayed and ruinous state, that a committee be now appointed to draw up a memorial, setting forth its alarming situation, and praying that an order may be made by the navigation board that the tolls may be henceforth paid to the said committee, to be laid out under their inspection in the immediate repairs of such parts as are in most imminent danger, so as with certainty to insure the navigation of the canal through the ensuing winter and spring.

“ Resolved, that Mr. Acheson Thompson, Mr. William Glenney, Mr. William Beath, Mr. Samuel Hanna, Mr. Waring, Mr. Ross Thompson, and Mr. George Anderson be appointed a committee in pursuance of the above resolutions, and that they do report to the town the result of said memorial and application to the navigation board.”

“ To the Right Honourable and Honourable

“ THE COMMISSIONERS OF INLAND NAVIGATIONS.

“ THE MEMORIAL OF THE

Merchants, traders and other inhabitants of the town of Newry.

“ *Humbly Sheweth,*

“ THAT your memorialists beg leave to refer your honours to the foregoing resolutions, unanimously entered into at a numerous public meeting of your memorialists and many others interested in the welfare of the Newry navigation, wherein the decayed and ruinous state of said navigation is most truly represented; that many of the locks, banks and flood-gates are in so perilous a state that said navigation is in very great danger of becoming useless, if not immediately attended to.

“ May it therefore please your honours to take the premises into your serious consideration, and to afford this great and useful navigation such immediate aid as may seem meet to your honours, and to order the tolls arising therefrom to be paid by your honours collector thereof to memorialists committee, Messrs. Acheson Thompson, William Beath, William Glenney, Thomas War-

“ ing, Samuel Hanna, Ross Thompson, and George Anderson, to be by them expended in the immediate repairs of such parts thereof as are in most imminent danger, in order to preserve the use of said navigation through the ensuing winter,

“ And your memorialists will ever pray.”

(Signed by fifty-five names.)

That the petitioners are informed that the honourable board for promoting inland navigations did, on the 7th of April instant, resolve that the superintendant of said navigation merited the approbation and thanks of said board, and did then, for the first time, grant him a salary at the rate of one hundred guineas a year, beginning so far back as the year 1774, notwithstanding that no salary had ever been granted to or payable to the present or any other superintendant of such navigation previous to the said grant of the 7th of April instant, which petitioners are informed appears by the report of the accounts to said board, nor had such salary, as petitioners are informed, been ever claimed by said superintendant till in the year 1784 he was brought for the first time to lay an account of his receipts and disbursements before said board; that notwithstanding the superintendant's reports to said board that the navigation is in better repair than heretofore, yet petitioners conceive the reverse to be evidently the fact, and that petitioners are under the greatest apprehensions for the said navigation in its present state; that since said report, breaches and other accidents still continue to happen thereon, owing, as petitioners are able to prove, to the mismanagement and misconduct of the present superintendant, and amongst other things to his raising of the old overfall, the making of new overfalls, and the introducing the river for a longer space into the canal, in order to procure a greater supply of water out of the canal for the iron mills which belong to the said superintendant or some of his family; that should the said new grant to superintendant, amounting to 125 l. 5s. be ordered to be paid out of the tolls of said navigation, it will cause the utter ruin of the same, inasmuch as the repairs necessary to be made thereon in its present state will require a sum much larger than said tolls can furnish, to prevent its immediate destruction; and therefore praying that the House will please to take the said public navigation under their protection, by preventing the payment of said superintendant, and ordering the tolls to be paid over to such persons as the House shall please to appoint, to be laid out upon the same in such manner as to the House shall seem meet.

A petition of the local commissioners of the Newry canal was presented to the House and read, setting forth that they fully agree

in the substance of the above petition, and praying the House to comply with the prayer thereof.

The following message was received from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ It is his Grace the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure that this House do attend him immediately in the House of Peers.”

Accordingly the Speaker, with the House, went to attend his Grace the Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, where the royal assent was given to the following bills :

P U B L I C B I L L S.

1. An act for granting the sum of 9000*l.* to the Incorporated Society, for supporting the Protestant Charter Schools of this kingdom.
2. An act for granting the sum of 3000*l.* to the Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges, for the purposes therein mentioned.
3. An act for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital and Work-house, for the purposes therein mentioned.
4. An act for granting the sum of 1000*l.* to the governors of the Hibernian School, for the support of that charity.
5. An act for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Dublin Society, for the purposes therein mentioned.
6. An act for granting the sum of 5000*l.* to the Board of First Fruits, for the purposes therein mentioned.
7. An act for granting the sum of 8600*l.* to the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor in the city of Dublin.
8. An act for granting the sum of 1000*l.* to the Hibernian Marine Society, towards supporting the said charity.
9. An act for granting the sum of 4000*l.* to the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, and for the purposes therein mentioned.
10. An act for continuing and amending several laws relating to his Majesty’s Revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein, and for other purposes therein mentioned.
11. An act for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its port and harbour more commodious.
12. An act to prevent the practice of fraudulently buying and selling of Light Gold Coin in this kingdom.
13. An act to amend an act passed in the third year of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the preservation of the Game.
14. An act to suspend for a limited time the operation of an act passed last session of parliament, entitled an act for the more ef-

fectually registering of freeholders, so far as the same shall affect the election of members to serve in parliament.

15. An act for granting the sum of 20,000*l.* to certain Trustees, for distributing Bounties, and promoting the several Manufactures therein named.

16. An act for continuing the encouragement given by former acts of parliament for promoting and carrying on the Inland Navigations in this kingdom.

17. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the further improvement and extension of the fisheries on the coasts of this kingdom.

18. An act for the more effectually promoting partnerships in trade, by amending the laws respecting the same.

19. An act for regulating the stage in the city and county of Dublin.

20. An act for continuing and amending the several laws relating to the repairs of the turnpike road leading from Dublin to Mullingar, and for more effectually enabling the trustees thereof to widen the narrow parts leading from Chapelizod to Dublin, on the north and south sides of the river Liffey.

21. An act for making, widening and repairing the road leading from the city of Dublin to Malahide, and for erecting turnpike gates, and receiving tolls thereout in aid of the barony presentments, and for appointing trustees for carrying the said purposes into execution.

22. An act for building a bridge over the northern channel of the river Lee in the city of Cork, and suburbs thereof, and for other purposes relative to the said city.

23. An act for building a bridge over the river Suir at Waterford.

24. An act for amending and carrying more effectually into force the several laws now in being for regulating the public gaols and prisons throughout this kingdom.

25. An act for rendering effectual a grant made formerly by Parliament for the encouragement of the copper manufacture of this kingdom.

26. An act to enable certain persons to make a navigable cut at Osbertstown towards Naas, and into the adjacent country.

27. An act for explaining and further amending the several acts heretofore passed for the improvement of the city of Dublin, by making wide and convenient passages through the same, and for other purposes.

28. An act for the improvement of the city of Dublin, and the environs thereof, by the better paving, cleansing and lighting the same.

29. An act for the more effectually collecting the public money to be raised by presentment within the county of the city of Dublin, and also for the more effectually repairing the roads within the county of the said city, and the liberties thereof.

30. An act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting possessions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious transportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain statutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the improving the police of the city of Dublin.

31. An act for the relief of persons who have omitted to qualify themselves according to law.

32. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the preventing frauds in the measurement of lime.

33. An act for the more effectual punishment of persons who shall attain or attempt to attain possession of money or goods by false pretences or by threats.

34. An act to establish the business of a pawnbroker, and to authorize such persons as shall be duly qualified to carry on the same to lend money on pawns or pledges, and to receive interest at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law.

35. An act to enable the grand juries of the several counties, counties of cities, and counties of towns within this kingdom, to grant such sums as shall be necessary for building and repairing bridewells therein.

36. An act to amend the several laws relative to the registering of freeholders.

37. An act for vesting the House, commonly called the Navigation-house, in the city of Dublin, with all the furniture, (not being private property) in his Majesty, his heirs and successors.

38. An act for applying 10,000*l.* being part of 71,600*l.* granted this session of parliament for the advancement of fisheries, trade and manufactures.

39. An act to explain and amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the protection and improvement of the inland fisheries of this kingdom.

40. An act for making more effectual an act made in the seventeenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King Charles the Second, entitled an act to prevent delays in extending statutes, judgments and recognizances, and for explaining an act made in the tenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King Charles the First, entitled an act for contentation of debts upon execution.

41. An act for further promoting the purposes of an act, entitled an act for the issuing treasury bills to the amount therein mentioned, for the purpose of promoting manufactures, by providing for the settlement of a number of industrious manufacturers at Prosperous, in the county of Kildare.

42. An act for the relief of uncertificated bankrupts.

43. An act to amend an act passed in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his present Majesty, entitled an act for the erecting and building of a new and convenient Gaol and Marshalsea in the county of Limerick, and county of the city of Limerick, and to enable certain trustees and commissioners therein named to purchase ground whereon to erect and build the same, and for enabling the Honourable and Reverend Maurice Crossie, Dean of Limerick, to sell or make leases in perpetuity of ground in the city of Limerick, whereof he is seized in right of his deanery, and to purchase a house and offices in the said city for a deanery-house, as in manner therein set forth.

P R I V A T E B I L L S.

1. An act to enable Henry Hamilton, Esq; to take upon him the surname of Cox instead of that of Hamilton, and to continue the said surname of Cox to all his descendants, pursuant to the will of Sir Richard Cox, Baronet, deceased, and to oblige him and them to bear and use the arms of the said Sir Richard Cox instead of those belonging to the Hamiltons.

2. An act to enable Francis Ryves, Esq; and William Ryves, Esq; his son, to settle a jointure on such wife as the said William Ryves shall marry in the life-time of the said Francis his Father, and to provide for younger children.

3. An act for vesting the residue of the personal estates of Mrs. Jane Bonnell, otherwise Conyngham, widow, deceased, in trustees, for the purposes mentioned in her will and codicil.

And then his Grace was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, which is as follows :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have seen with great satisfaction, the constant attention and uncommon dispatch with which you have gone through the public business. I am thereby enabled now to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. The harmony of your deliberations has given no less efficacy than dignity to your proceedings, and I am confident that you will carry with you the same disposition for promoting the public welfare to your residence in the country, where your presence will encourage the industry of the people, and where your example and your influence will be happily exerted in establishing general good order and obedience to the laws.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have given for the public service, and for the honourable support of his Majesty's government. They shall be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were granted. My reliance upon your decided support to the execution of the laws for the just collection of the public revenue, affords me the best-founded hope that the produce of the duties will not fall short of their estimated amount.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The determined spirit with which you have marked your abhorrence of all lawless disorder and tumult, hath, I doubt not, already made an useful impression; and the salutary laws enacted in this session, and particularly the introduction of a system of police, are honourable proofs of your wisdom, your moderation and your prudence.

" His Majesty beholds with the highest satisfaction the zeal and loyalty of his people of Ireland; and I have his Majesty's express commands to assure you of the most cordial returns of his royal favour and parental affection.

" I have the deepest sense of every obligation to confirm my attachment to this kingdom, and it will be the constant object of my administration, and the warmest impulse of my heart, to forward the success of her interests, and to promote the prosperity of the empire."

And then the Lord Chancellor declared that it was his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 18th day of July next; and the parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 18th day of July next.



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OF THE

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